

A critical edition of the treatise
on heresy ascribed to Pseudo-Reinerius,
with an historical introduction

by

Margaret Annie Eugenie

Nickson

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ABSTRACT

This edition of the treatise on heresy ascribed to Pseudo-Reinerius is based on a collation of 29 extant mss. The text prepared from these has been compared with two mss. of sections V-XI of the longer recension of the so-called Anonymous of Passau treatise, the earliest version of which was compiled about 1260. This comparison has shown conclusively that the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise is derived in its entirety from these sections of the longer recension of the Anonymous of Passau treatise. The contents of both treatises have been analysed in detail, so that an assessment might be made of their value as source material for the history of heresy in the thirteenth century, more particularly in south Germany and Austria.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER I - The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

ERRATA. The contents list and list of
abbreviations will be found immediately
following p. ci.

The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

The importance of the so-called Pseudo-Reinerius treatise for the history of medieval heresy has long been recognised. During the late middle ages it was one of the most popular of inquisitorial handbooks, as is shown by the surprisingly large number of manuscript copies which still survive at the present day. The treatise is a compilation of texts on the nature and treatment of heresy, the most lengthy of these being the work on the Cathars by Reinerius Sacconi, written in 1250. Some of these texts, such as Sacconi's, are well known from other sources; others, particularly those relating to German-speaking heretics, owe their preservation mainly to their inclusion in the treatise. Some sections, in which reference is made to a number of places in the Danube basin of Upper and Lower Austria, cannot be ascribed to any previous writer and seem to represent the compiler's own knowledge of the heretics of his day. This, together with the fact that 27 out of the 33 extant manuscripts of the treatise are still situated in or near this area, suggests very strongly that here was the place of its origin and chief use. The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise is, indeed, one of the main sources of our knowledge of the German and Austrian heretics of the thirteenth century; it is equally important for the information which it provides concerning the beliefs and methods of their inquisitors.

The use of the treatise for the purpose of religious

controversy did not end with the middle ages. In 1556 the Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus included in his Catalogus testium veritatis, a collection of historical evidences for the Protestant faith, an account of the Waldensians which he ascribed to a certain Reinerius.¹ In 1613 the Jesuit Gretser, zealous in the cause of the Counter-Reformation, published a treatise on heresy, also ascribed to a Reinerius, which contained chapters on the Waldensians similar to a part of the account published by Flacius Illyricus.² In 1834 Gieseler successfully demonstrated that the Reinerius Sacchoni whose account of the Cathars was included in the treatise could not have composed the whole work, and suggested the appellation Pseudo-Reinerius for the author or compiler.³ A further problem concerning the treatise was raised in 1875 when Wilhelm Preger drew attention to a similar, but considerably longer, work which he ascribed to an Anonymous of Passau.⁴ Preger recognised that this must be related to the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise but he was unable to determine the exact nature of this relationship, further than suggesting that Gretser had published a muddled and incomplete text. In 1955 Dr. Franz Unterkircher published a fresh

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1. Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Catalogus testium veritatis (Basle, 1556) 724-757.
 2. Jacob Gretser, Lucae Tudensis episcopi, scriptores aliquot succedanei contra sectam Waldensium... (Ingolstadt, 1613).
 3. J.C.L. Gieseler, De Rainerii Sachoni Summa de Catharis et leonistis commentatio critica (Göttingen, 1834).
 4. Wilhelm Preger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, 179-250.

appraisal of the problem in his article "'Pseudo-Rainier' und 'Passauer Anonymus'".¹ In this he discussed the extant manuscripts of the two works and drew the conclusion that no real progress could be made towards a solution of the problem of the relationship between the two treatises without the preparation of new editions according to historical principles. Thus in the edition of the Pseudo-Reinerius presented here the aim has been not only to establish a text approximating as nearly as possible to the original but also, in carrying out this task, to discover the nature of the link with the treatise ascribed to the Anonymous of Passau.

1. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, LXIII (Vienna, 1955) 41-46.

CHAPTER II - Ms. and printed versions
of the Pseudo-Reinerius
and Anonymous of Passau
treatises; their
relationship.

The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise: ms. and printed versions

The so-called Pseudo-Reinerius treatise is an inquisitor's handbook in which the question of heresy is dealt with comprehensively. It contains information on the causes of heresy, on the names and doctrines of the various heretical sects, and on the methods to be used in discovering heretics, examining them and punishing them. This information is rather clumsily put together and the work never loses the character of a somewhat careless compilation, the component parts of which remain easily distinguishable. The name Pseudo-Reinerius is not a particularly well-chosen description for the anonymous author or compiler. The introductory ascription to Reinerius is not found in the mss. containing the best text; it is indeed a later addition, derived from one section of the treatise only in which the Summa de Catharis, known to have been composed by Reinerius Sacconi, is contained. The true identity of the "author" remains as elusive now, however, as in the days of Gieseler, and as the appellation Pseudo-Reinerius is a convenient label which has already entered into general use in the literature on the treatise I have decided to retain it.

The treatise was included by the Jesuit Jacob Gretser in his collection of works against heresy published in 1613:

Lucae Tudensis episcopi, scriptores aliquot
succedanei contra sectam Waldensium: nunc primum
in lucem editi cum prolegomenis & notis; in
quibus de Waldensium factionibus, perversisque
dogmatis copiose disseritur (Ingolstadt, 1613).¹

I have not been able to trace the manuscript used by Gretser.² He noted that it was on paper and badly written, and expressed the hope that he might be able to emend the text with the help of a manuscript in the library of the monastery of Lambach, Upper Austria.³ Accordingly some variants from this source are given as foot notes in the Opera omnia edition. Like the Lambach ms. Gretser's ms. was divided into ten chapters and bore an ascription to Reinerius in the introduction; it appears to have been a late example of the type of Group IV described below. Gretser did not identify Reinerius with Reinerius Sacconi, but suggested that he must have been a German, or at least conversant with the German language.

Altogether 33 mss. of the treatise are known to exist at the present day.⁴ Of these thirteen were written some time

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1. I have not been able to see a copy of the original edition. The work is included in the Opera omnia of Gretser, XII, pt. 2 (Regensburg, 1738) 24-48 and in M. de la Bigne ed., Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, XXV (Lyons, 1677) 266-77, 310-12.
 2. Gretser did not make use of this at first hand but worked from a copy made for him by Christoph Gewold.
 3. Present ms. Vienna, National Library, ser. nov. 3613 (see below, p. xiii).
 4. I have not included Munich Clm. 4143 in this estimate of the number of extant mss. of the treatise as it is a seventeenth century copy of Clm. 4144, and of no interest in the ms. tradition. 34 mss. are listed by Father Dondaine (Le Manuel, p. 173) under the heading Anonymous of Passau; of these 26 (including Clm. 4143) are mss. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise. I am indebted to Father Kaeppli for references to a further four mss. (Kremsmünster 317, Uppsala C 220, Trier 1925 and Brno Mk 60).

before 1400. In order to establish the best text from amongst these numerous examples it has been necessary to prepare a thorough collation of all the extant mss., with the exception of four containing shortened or incomplete versions of no importance in ascertaining the ms. tradition. The edition of the treatise which is given below has been prepared from this collation; but I have retained those variants only which affect the sense or which indicate the relationships of the mss. A study of these variants reveals that the mss. may be divided into seven main groups, the members of which resemble each other closely. These groups are as follows:

- I A group of 3 mss. (a,b,d), without the ascription to Reinerius in the introduction, in which the text is divided into 36 chapters.
- II 1 ms. only (y) similar to those of Group I but with the ascription to Reinerius.
- III A group of 3 mss. (h,q,cc), without the ascription to Reinerius, in which the text is divided into 10 chapters.
- IV A group of 5 mss. (e,g,n,t,ff), with the ascription to Reinerius, in which the text is divided into 10 chapters. An additional paragraph (*Omnes igitur predicti heretici...cum iustis non scribantur*) concludes the treatise.
- V A group of 2 mss. (k,l), with the ascription to Reinerius, the 10-chapter division and the additional paragraph, but also with a number of additions, especially to the section dealing with the Waldensians.
- VI A group of 8 mss. (c,f,i,j,r,x,aa,ee), with the ascription to Reinerius, in which the text is divided into 10 chapters. The additional paragraph of Group IV does not appear.

- VII A group of 7 mss. (m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd), containing a shortened version in 10 chapters. The ascription to Reinerius appears in the introduction.

In view of the likelihood that the false ascription to Reinerius Sacchoni was a later addition, and not part of the original text, it seemed reasonable to look for the best recension amongst the mss. of Groups I and III. This view was confirmed when the section of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise containing a version of Sacchoni's Summa was collated with the Summa itself.¹ This collation showed clearly that the mss. of Groups I and III (a,b,d,h,q,cc) correspond more closely with the Summa than do any other mss. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise; within these two groups the mss. of Group I (a,b,d) show a slightly greater correspondence with the Summa than those of Group III (h,q,cc).

A further collation with the longer version of the Anonymous of Passau treatise, which is described more fully below, confirmed the primacy of the a,b,d,h,q,cc group. I have therefore based the new edition on the text as given in those mss., the readings from a,b,d, being usually preferred when these do not co-incide with those from

1. The edition used was that published by Father Dondaine in 1939. See below, pp. lxi-lxii for a fuller discussion of the Summa.

h,q,cc.¹ This has been done partly because the a,b,d group agrees to a slightly greater extent with the original Sacchoni Summa and with the longer version of the Anonymous of Passau treatise than does the h,q,cc group, and partly because the 36-chapter division of a,b,d. describes the contents of the treatise more adequately than does the 10-chapter division of h,q,cc and the other mss.² It is necessary to remark, however, that the evidence offered by the collation of the a,b,d,h,q,cc mss. does not indicate the primacy of the a,b,d group beyond all doubt, and that the question of whether the original treatise was divided into 36 or 10 chapters still remains open.³ I have therefore included the chapter headings of the 10-chapter version in square brackets at the appropriate places in the edition given below.

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1. Codex d is consistently the best ms. within the a,b,d group and has usually been followed for chapter headings. It contains a sufficient number of errors peculiar to itself, however, to show clearly that it cannot be the original ms. of the treatise.
 2. The 10 chapters comprise a part of the treatise only, i.e. up to the section on the punishment of heretics. The remaining sections have no chapter headings and for this reason Gretser was disposed to believe that they had been added later. Their inclusion in the Anonymous of Passau treatise shows that this was not the case.
 3. The hypothesis that the original Pseudo-Reinerius treatise was divided into 10 chapters derives some support from the fact that in the introduction to the Anonymous of Passau treatise also a 10-chapter division is given. The chapter headings do not correspond with those of the h,q,cc group, however, and are in any case ignored in the treatise which follows (see below pp. li-lli).

Mss. containing the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

GROUP I - 36 chapters, without ascription to Reinerius

- 1) Vienna, National Library, 812, fos. 82ra-103vb. Parchment. Date: 13-14c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. 812 described in Tabulae codicum, I, 137.
Incipit: Tractatus de erroribus hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani.
 Referred to as codex a.

- 2) Klosterneuburg 306, fos. 265ra-284va. Parchment and paper. Date: 14c. Provenance: Augustinian house of Klosterneuburg, Lower Austria. Contents of ms. 306 described in Hermann Pfeiffer and Berthold Černík, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca canonice regularium S. Augustini Claustroneoburgi asservantur, II (Klosterneuburg, 1931) 62-66.
Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Expliciunt secte hereticorum. Below, in another hand: Expliciunt secte hereticorum comportate per fratrem Reinherum olim heresiarcham nunc dei gratia in ordine fratrum predicatorum. Fo. 271va contains a marginal note "notantur ✠" (possibly in the same hand) at the point in the text where reference is made to "ego autem frater Reinherus" (see below p. 62).
 Referred to as codex b.

- 3) Lilienfeld 144, fos. 181ra-190rb. Parchment. Date: c. 1319 (see below). Provenance: Cistercian house of Lilienfeld, Upper Austria. Contents of ms. 144 described in Xenia Bernardina, II, i, 529-31.
Incipit: De erroribus hereticorum. Incipit tractatus de erroribus hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Explicit tractatus de erroribus hereticorum.
 At the end of the volume is a list of contents in which the treatise on heresy is described as "De erroribus hereticorum". Immediately after, in the same hand as the treatise, is written "Hoc volumen

frater Christanus monachus de Lylinveld secundum partem scripsit secundum partem ut scriberetur comparavit de sua paupertate. Hoc qui a domo que dicitur Lylinveld cuius est aut alienavit aut volenter viciaverit anathema sit. Memento fratris Christani in bonum". This Christanus can be identified as the hymn-writer Christanus of Lilienfeld, who died in 1330 (vide Guido Maria Dreves ed. Christans von Lilienfeld, Hymnen, Officien, Sequenzen und Reimgebete (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, XLIIa, Leipzig, 1903)). The rules for calculating the Golden Number given on fo. 14va of ms. 144 are annotated in Christanus's hand with calculations referring to the year 1319: it is possible, therefore, that this ms. was written at about that time. Referred to as codex d.

GROUP II - 36 chapters, with ascription to Reinerius

- 4) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, C 116, fos. 189r-211r. Paper. Date: early 15c Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. C 116 described in A. Patera and A. Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské, I (Prague, 1910) 313-14. Incipit: Incipit tractatus de erroribus hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est Iovini [sic]. Referred to as codex y.

GROUP III - 10 chapters, without ascription to Reinerius

- 5) Vyšší Brod (formerly Hohenfurt) 123, fos. 226rb-275rb. Paper. Date: 14c. Provenance: unknown (this ms. was a gift to the Cistercian house of Hohenfurt from Dr. Alfred Rodler of St. Thoma, Assistant in the Geology Department of the University of Vienna). Contents of ms. 123 described in Xenia Bernardina, II, ii, 283-84. Incipit: Audistis quia antychristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est etiam Ioviniani. Referred to as codex h.
- 6) Vienna, National Library, 1664, pp. 271a-313b.

Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: unknown.
Contents of ms. 1664 described in Tabulae codicum,
I, 271-72.

Incipit: De erroribus hereticorum [in different hand
from rest of treatise]. [A]udistis quia antichristus
venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviani [sic]. Explicit
liber de errore hereticorum.

The following portion of the text: Audistis quia
antichristus venit...plures mortuos suscitavit. Item
coram Nerone (see below p. 11) is written on the
flyleaf of this ms., in the same hand.

Referred to as codex q.

- 7) Kremsmünster 317, fos. 99vb-119rb. Paper.
Date: 14-15c. Provenance: Benedictine house of
Kremsmünster, Upper Austria. Contents of ms. 317
described in an unpublished ms. catalogue in the
Kremsmünster library.

Incipit: Incipit libellus de erroribus quorundam
hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani.

Referred to as codex cc.

GROUP IV - 10 chapters, with ascription to Reinerius and
additional paragraph: Omnes igitur predicti...

- 8) Vienna, National Library, ser. nov. 3613, fos. 1r-29v.
Parchment. Date: 13-14c. Provenance: Benedictine
house of Lambach, Upper Austria. This ms. was formerly
numbered 155 in the library of Lambach. It was
bought by the National Library in 1953. Contents
of ms. ser. nov. 3613 described in an unpublished
typescript catalogue of series nova by Dr. Franz
Unterkircher in the National Library.

Incipit: Incipit libellus de hereticis et erroribus
eorum a fratre Rynhero compilatus. Audistis quia
antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...et cum iustis non scribantur. Explicit
libellus opinionum et errorum hereticorum.

Referred to as codex ff.

- 9) Zwettl 311, fos. 82ra-107rb (the volume has been
wrongly bound and the correct order of the folios is
as follows : fos. 90ra-99vb; 82ra-89rb; 100ra-107rb).
Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Cistercian

house of Zwettl, Lower Austria. Contents of ms. 311 described in Xenia Bernardina, II,i,406.

Incipit: Incipit tractatus de sectis hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus...

Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur. Amen.

Excipit [sic] liber hereticorum.

Referred to as codex e.

- 10) Munich, Bavarian State Library, 1846, fos. 52r-85v. Paper. Date: 14-15c. Provenance: unknown (on the flyleaf is written "Johannes Staindl custos ecclesie Pataviensi"). Contents of ms. 1846 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis. Editio altera, I,i (Munich, 1892) 299. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur. Referred to as codex t.

- 11) Vienna, National Library, 4213, fos. 107r-128v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: library of Conrad of Hallstatt. Contents of ms. 4213 described in Tabulae codicum, III, 203. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur. The following note is written on the flyleaf: Hic liber datus est ad librariam collegii ducalis ex opposito fratrum predicatorum Wiennae per venerabilem virum Magistrum Thomam de Haslpach [i.e. Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach, 1387-1464] de rebus divine memorie Magistri Conradi de Halstat sacrorum canonum olim doctoris eximii cuius animam deus clementer respicere dignetur eterne beatudinis corona eandem vestiendo sine fine. Amen. Anno 1460. Conrad of Hallstatt was Rector of the University of Vienna a number of times during the period 1426-1456. He died some time after 1458 (vide J. von Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität...I (Vienna, 1865) 477-78). Referred to as codex n.

- 12) Wilhering 124, fos. 44va-61ra. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Cistercian house of Wilhering, Upper Austria. Contents of ms. 124 described in Xenia Bernardina, II,ii,63-64. Incipit: Incipit libellus de hereticis et eorum erroribus a fratre Rinhera compilatus. Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur. Amen. Et sic est finis de erroribus hereticorum. Referred to as codex g.

GROUP V - as Group IV, with additions

The additions to the k,l group of mss. occur mainly in the section dealing with the Waldensians (chapters vii-ix). The inclusion of Säusenstein in the list of places infected by heresy, and such glosses as "forte Pechlarn", "forte Newmrkt", "credo Weystra" suggest that the copyist responsible for the additions had personal knowledge of the Waldensians of Lower Austria; it is possible that he was connected with the inquisition conducted by Peter the Celestine which took place in this area at the end of the fourteenth century. Certain similarities with the text as given in the Anonymous of Passau treatise, which do not occur in other mss. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, indicate that he had access to a copy of that treatise; in other respects the k,l group represents a late form of the Group IV recension.

- 13) Vatican Library, Codices Palatini, 677, fos. 1r-40r. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Palatine Library in Heidelberg, founded about 1482. Contents of ms. 677 described in Henricus Stevenson and I. B. de Rossi, Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae, I (Rome, 1886) 240.

Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur et cetera.

Explicit liber hereticorum.

Referred to as codex k.

- 14) Berlin, State Library, 704, fos. 179ra-189rb. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Charterhouse of Salvatorberg, near Erfurt (vide Paul Lehmann, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, II (Munich, 1928) 229). Contents of ms. 704 described by Lehmann, loc.cit.

Incipit: [A]udistis quia antichristus veniet...

Explicit: ...cum iustis non scribantur et cetera.

Referred to as codex l.

This ms. is at present in Tübingen.

GROUP VI - 10 chapters, with ascription to Reinerius,
without additional paragraph: Omnes igitur
predicti...

- 15) Vienna, National Library, 517, fos. 48r-65v. Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Charterhouse

of Aggsbach, Upper Austria (on the flyleaf of this ms. is written: *Cartusiae Aggspacensis*, and it can therefore be identified with Aggsbach K.6/2, described in Theodor Gottlieb, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs, I. Niederösterreich (Vienna, 1915) 607). Contents of ms. 517 described in Tabulae codicum, I, 87.

Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani et ceteris.

Several passages in this text have been blotted out presumably because they were considered to be obscene. Referred to as codex c.

- 16) Danzig, National Library, Mar. F. 135, fos. 252ra-264yb. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: In the possession of the Library of the church of St. Mary in Danzig since the 15th century. Contents of ms. Mar. F.135 described in Otto Günther, Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig (Danzig, 1921) 130-135.

Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani sic dicti. Expliciunt secte hereticorum per manus et cetera [sic].

Verumptamen universa vanitas omnis homo vivens.

Referred to as codex i.

- 17) Danzig, National Library, 1964, fos. 2ra-15vb. Paper and parchment. Date: 15c. Provenance: Heinrich Schwarzwald Library (former reference: HSB XX B.f.20). Contents of ms. 1964 described in Otto Günther, Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, III (Danzig, 1909) 109-10.

Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani sic dicti.

Expliciunt secte hereticorum per manus Nyco Grym [?].

Veruntamen universa vanitas omnis homo vivens. Ave martir gloriosa Barbara.

Referred to as codex j.

- 18) Klosterneuburg 933, fos. 167ra-180ra. Paper. Date: 2nd half of 14c. Provenance: Augustinian house of Klosterneuburg; formerly in the possession of Ulricus of Krems. Contents of ms. 933 described in an unpublished card catalogue by P. Berthold Černík, in the Klosterneuburg library.

Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani.

Fos. 167r-202v make up three gatherings and are

written throughout in the same hand. On fo. 190vb appears the following note: Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo. Anno domini m^o ccc^o 7 [space] finitus et et [sic] scriptus est presens liber secundo kalendis Novembris per manus humilis Chunradi presbyteri et altariste sancte Katherine virginis eximie in Chrems parochialis ecclesie. It seems likely, therefore, that the treatise was copied between 1370 and 1379. On fo. 184rb is written: Si quis inveniet [hunc librum ?] Ulrico de civi Chremensi reddi debet. Referred to as codex r.

- 19) Göttingen 445 (unfoliated). Paper and parchment. Date: 15c. Provenance: Benedictine house of Göttingen, Lower Austria. Contents of ms. 445 (former reference 240) described in an unpublished ms. catalogue by V. Moeli, 1844, in the Göttingen library. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Referred to as codex x.

- 20) Brno, University Library, Mk 60, fos. 134r-172v. Paper. Date: 2nd half of 15c. Provenance: The Dietrichstein Library, Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia (former reference: II. 66). Contents of ms. Mk 60 described in Václav Dokoupil, Soupis Rukopisů Mikulovské Dietrichsteinské knihovny (Prague, 1958, in the series: Soupis rukopisných fondů Universitní knihovny v Brně, II) 105-07. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Amen. Explicit secta hereticorum. Referred to as codex ee.

- 21) Uppsala, University Library, C. 220, fos. 225r-252r. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Briggittine house of Vadstena, Sweden (former reference D 6^o 5^{us}). Contents of ms. C. 220 described in an unpublished typescript catalogue in the Uppsala University Library. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Referred to as codex aa.

- 22) Schlögl 118, Cpl. 81, fos. 46v-54r. Paper. Date: 15c.

Provenance: Premonstratensian house of Schlägl-im-Aigen, Upper Austria; formerly in the possession of Joannes de Rabenstein. Contents of ms. 118, Cpl. 81 described in G. Vielhaber and G. Indra, Catalogus codicum Plagensium (Cpl) manuscriptorum (Linz, 1918) 188-93.

Incipit: Incipiunt secte hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit ...ideo non est curanda (see below p. 153).

Following page, containing remainder of treatise, missing. Referred to as codex f.

GROUP VII - shortened text, 10 chapters, with ascription to Reinerius

- 23) Vienna, National Library, 512, fos. 100ra-108rb. Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Dominican convent in Vienna. The following is written at the top of fo. 138v: Iste liber est conventus Wiennensis fratrum predicatorum in Austria; this ms. can therefore be identified with ms. K.35 of the library of the Dominican convent in Vienna described in T. Gottlieb, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs, I, Niederösterreich (Vienna, 1915) 361. Contents of ms. 512 described in Tabulae codicum, I, 86. Incipit: Opusculum Reinheri quondam heresiarcha et postea predicatorum factus de hereticis. Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...si paratus es omni poscenti reddere rationem fidei. Referred to as codex p.
- 24) Klosterneuburg 265, fos. 137vb-147vb. Paper. Date: 14c. Provenance: Augustinian house of Klosterneuburg. Contents of ms. described in Hermann Pfeiffer and Berthold Černík, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca canonicorum regularium S. Augustini Claustro-neoburgi asservantur, II (Klosterneuburg, 1931) 12-15. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus veniet... Explicit: ...si paratus es omni poscenti reddere rationem fidei. Explicit tractatus de hereticis fratris Reinheri de ordine fratrum predicatorum. Referred to as codex s.

- 25) Maria Saal 16, fos. 160v-165r. Date: 14-15c.
Provenance: Library of the Collegiate Church of Maria Saal, Carinthia. Contents of ms. 16 described in H. Menhardt, Handschriftenverzeichnis der Kärntner Bibliotheken (Vienna, 1927, in the series: Handschriftenverzeichnisse Österreichischer Bibliotheken, Kärnten, I) 273-74.
Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...si paratus es omni possenti [sic] reddere rationem fidei. Amen. Explicit tractatus de hereticis fratris Reynheri de ordine predicatorum scriptus Wienne per manus Henrici [i.e. Henricus de Petems, vide fos. 152r, 166rb].
Referred to as codex m.
- 26) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 4144, fos. 276ra-288vb. Paper. Date: 15c. (subsequent to 1434).
Provenance: Augustinian house of the Holy Cross, Augsburg (former reference: 44). Contents of ms. 4144 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis. Editio altera, I,2 (Munich, 1894) 166-67.
Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...si paratus es omni potenti [sic] reddere rationem fidei et cetera. Explicit tractatus de hereticis.
Referred to as codex u.
- 27) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 14637, fos. 250r-272v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Benedictine house of St. Emmeranus, Regensburg. Contents of ms. 14637 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum regiae Monacensis, II, 2 (Munich, 1876) 208.
Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...si paratus es omni poscenti reddere rationem fidei et ceteris.
Referred to as codex w.
- 28) Altenburg AB 13 B8, fos. 144r-155r. Date: 15c (probably 1447). Provenance: Benedictine house of Altenburg bei Horn, Lower Austria. (former reference: VII. 84). Contents of ms. AB 13 B8 described in an unpublished ms. catalogue by P. Gregor Schweighofer (Die Handschriften des Stiftes Altenburg, November, 1956, 37) in the Altenburg Library.
Incipit: Incipit tractatus fratris Reinheri de hereticis. Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...si paratus es omni poscenti reddere

rationem fidei. Explicit tractatus de hereticis fratris Reinheri de ordine fratrum predicatorum scriptus Wyenne per manus Iohannis de Weytra. Anno 47. Referred to as codex bb.

- 29) Trier, City Library, 1925/1482, fos. 400r-411v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Charterhouse of St. Alban, Trier. Contents of ms. 1925/1482 described in G. Kentenich, Die ascetischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, ii (Trier, 1910, in the series: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, VI) 146-48. Incipit: Tractatus fratris Rynheri contra hereticos. Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...si paratus es omni poscenti reddere rationem fidei. Explicit tractatus de hereticis fratris Reynhardi de ordine fratrum predicatorum. Laus deo. Referred to as codex dd.

Other mss. of Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

The following are incomplete or shortened texts of the treatise. They contain nothing of special interest and have therefore not been included in the collation.

- 1) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, N.25, fos. 58ra-62ra. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: formerly in the library of George Barthold Pontanus a Braitenberg. Contents of ms. N.25 described in A. Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské, II (Prague, 1922) 400-01. Incipit: Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...Nota quod Ortlibenses requisiti de articulis fidei omnes confitentur sed mistice intelligunt secundum quod ex parte potest cognosci (the work comes to an end at this point). This ms. is related to the mss. of Group VI.
- 2) Vienna, National Library, 4902, fos. 145r-166r. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. 4902 described in Tabulae codicum, III, 410-12. Incipit: Tractatulus de sectis hereticorum. Audistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...heresis est Ioviniani. Explicit secta hereticorum. This ms. is related to the mss. of Group VI but numerous

passages are omitted, including the list of places infected by heresy in the diocese of Passau.

- 3) Vienna, National Library, 4164, fos. 273rb-278ra. Paper. Date: 15c. (before 1477). Provenance: library of Iodocus Hausner de Novoforo. Contents of ms. 4164 described in Tabulae codicum, III, 188. Incipit: Incipiunt aliqua capitula de tractatu compilato de hereticis a fratre Reinhero predicatorum ordinis olym heresiarcha. Primo de causis heresum... Explicit: ...irritum et inane et cetera. Amen. This is a shortened form of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise including sections on: De causis heresum; Quomodo heretici noscuntur; Qualiter heretici se ingerantur dominis; De modo examinandi hereticum; Interrogatio, Queratur ab heretico; In publica inquisitione sic fit; Que sint contra fidem catholicam, Conventicula habere...; 4or falsa sacramenta Kathararum; Decretalis contra hereticos. It is most probably related to Group IV. On the flyleaf is written: Egregius vir sacri iuris pontificii ac artis liberalium professor olim famosissimus atque ecclesie sancti Stephani Wiennensis canonicus premeritus magister Iodocus Hausner de Novoforo collegio ducali Wienne hunc librum testatus est. Animam eius eo utentes altissimo devota memoria commendent. Anno 1478. Iodocus Hausner de Novoforo was Rector of the University of Vienna in 1446, 1454 and 1464. He died in 1477.
- 4) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cgm 50, fos. 28va-29va. Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Benedictine house of Ober-Alteich, Bavaria. Contents of ms. Cgm 50 described in E. Petzet, Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften Nr. 1-200 der Staatsbibliothek in München (Munich, 1920) 81-84. Incipit: [A]udistis quia antichristus venit... Explicit: ...suam etiam doctrinam precipiunt occultari a clericis sic quidam locuntur per (the work comes to a sudden end, the remainder of the folio being blank). This ms. is most probably related to Group VI.

The following ms. contains a commentary on the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise:

Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, D.6, fos. 286r-30lv. Paper. Date: 15 c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. D.6 described in A. Patera and A. Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské, I (Prague, 1910) 321-23. Incipit: Frater Reinherus de ordine predicatorum in suo libro quem composuit... Explicit: ...si de hiis dubium fuisset.

The Anonymous of Passau treatise: ms. and printed versions

The treatise ascribed to the "Anonymous of Passau" is a polemical work aimed primarily against the Jews, with sections on Antichrist, heretics, and other enemies of the Roman Church. It is divided into eleven parts: the first two of these are directed against the Jews; the third is a dissertation on the Catholic faith, showing why it is to be preferred to the beliefs of the Jews and others; the fourth concerns Antichrist; the fifth is devoted to heresy; the sixth describes Mahommed and his religion; the seventh discusses the resemblances and dissimilarities amongst Catholics, Jews, heretics and Mahommedans; the eighth describes some ancient groups of philosophers; the ninth and tenth deal with superstitions of various kinds; and the eleventh describes the "hypocrites who are called Sterzer". The author himself refers to the treatise as a "simplex collacio"; and it is soon apparent that extracts from many sources are included in it. Some sections can be identified as coming from works of known authorship and date; others are not peculiar to the treatise but are to be found also in similar anonymous compilations: most probably these were not composed by the Anonymous but were chosen by him for inclusion in his work. A substantial part of the treatise has not so far been paralleled in other texts and may perhaps

be considered as the Anonymous's own contribution.

The treatise is known in both a longer and a shorter recension. Three mss. of the former and four of the latter are known to be extant at the present day. The mss. of the longer recension are Munich Clm. 311 (referred to below as B), Clm. 9558, and Erfurt Amplon. Quarto 149 (referred to below as A). Of these Erfurt Amplon. Quarto 149 which dates from the early fourteenth century is probably the earliest. The most important ms. of the shorter recension is Munich Clm. 2714 which also dates from the fourteenth century. This contains the first four sections (i.e. on the Jews and the Antichrist) as well as most of the sections on heresy, etc. of the longer version, but in an abbreviated and occasionally different form. In the section on heresy with which we are mainly concerned here the chief difference occurs in the description of the Cathars, the Summa de Catharis of Reinerius Sacconi appearing in the longer version only. Three other extant mss., Graz 876, Vienna 3271 and Prague D 51, contain the shorter recension of the Anonymous of Passau treatise, but without the sections on the Jews and the Antichrist. Another ms., Prague I F 18, appears to be derived from the shorter recension.

The treatise has been printed in a very fragmentary fashion only. Some extracts from the longer recension were published by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in his Catalogus

testium veritatis, qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt
Papae (Basle, 1556) pp. 724-57.¹ These comprise: Heresis
 septem [sic] sunt cause...(cf. section V,iii of Clm. 311
 described below); Sectae haereticorum ab olim fuerunt
 multae...(cf. section V,iv); Secta autem pauperum de
 Lugduno orta est...(cf. section V,iv); Errores istorum
 distinguntur in tres partes...(cf. section V,v); Explanatio
 dictorum errorum, cum occasionibus suis & solutionibus
 catholicis...(cf. section V,vi); Cognoscuntur haeretici
 per mores & verba...(cf. section V,xix). Flacius explained
 that he had chosen this account of the Waldensians for
 publication in default of their own writings, and warned
 the reader against the Catholic bias of the author, a
 certain Reinerius. According to his estimate the work had
 been written some 300 years previously (i.e. circa 1256).
 He did not describe the manuscript used beyond mentioning
 that it was old and on parchment.²

1. Printed also in Freherus, Rerum Bohemicarum Antiqui
Scriptores, I (1602) pp. 222-32.

2. "Verum cum ipsorum Valdensium vetustiora scripta haberi
 nequeant, apponemus hic papistae cuiuspiam, Reinerii, ut
 opinor, summam prolixam dogmatum ipsorum, forte ante 300
 annos confectam, & a nobis ex veteri membranaceo libro
 desumptum", op. cit. p.723.

Further extracts from the treatise were published by Wilhelm Preger in 1874 and 1877. These were:

A list of places in the diocese of Passau, infected by heresy: published from Clm. 9558 (cf. section V,viii of Clm. 311 described below)¹

Compilatio de novo spiritu: published from Clm. 311 (section V,x) and Clm. 9558²

Primo dicunt quod quilibet homo...: published from Clm. 311 (section V,xi)³

Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie...: published from Clm. 311 (section V,vii) Clm. 9558 and Clm. 2714 (section V,xiii)⁴

Ewangelium eternum: published from Clm. 311 (section V,ix) and Clm. 9558⁵

De occasionibus errorum hereticorum: published from Clm. 311 (section V,xxvi) Clm. 9558 and Clm. 2714 (section V,xviii)⁶

Although Preger considered that the shorter recension represented the earliest extant form of the Anonymous of Passau treatise he occupied himself mainly with publishing extracts peculiar to the longer recension. Another extract from the longer recension, "De corrumpentibus

1. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, pp. 241-42.
2. Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter, I (Leipzig, 1874) 461-69.
3. Ibid., pp. 469-71
4. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, pp. 234-41.
5. "Das 'evangelium aeternum' und Joachim von Floris", Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XII, Abt. 3 (Munich, 1874) 133-36.
6. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, pp. 242-45.

diversa negotio" was published by Karl Müller in 1887¹ from mss. Clm. 311² and 9558. In 1890 some extracts from the shorter recension, not previously printed, were published by Ignaz von Döllinger from Clm. 2714. These were:

Quarta secta est Katharorum...(section V,viii of Clm. 2714 described below)

Quinta secta est Manicheorum...(section V,ix of Clm. 2714)³

He also published his own version of the "Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie" (from Clm. 311, Clm. 2714 and Vienna 3271)⁴ and the "Compilatio de novo spiritu" (from Clm. 311)⁵. Döllinger's edition of these fragments is far from satisfactory.

In spite of this pièce-meal publication some sections of parts V - XI of the Anonymous of Passau treatise have still not been printed.⁶ These are:

Section VI. De Machometo et de Sarracenorum lege

Section VII. De concordia fidei (with the exception of the part dealing with the Eastern Church which is included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise)

1. "Betrügereien und Fälschungen im Mittelalter", Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, N.F. II (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1887) 241-42,
2. Section XII.
3. Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 293-96.
4. Ibid., pp. 42-52.
5. Ibid., pp. 395-402
6. The sections included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise (see below pp. li-lxx) have been published by Gretser. In the edition of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise given below I have noted the variant readings from the longer recension (i.e. mss. Clm. 311 and Erfurt Amplon. Quarto 149) so that the text of this recension may easily be reconstructed.

Section VIII. De sectis philosophorum

Section IX. De ydolis

Section X. De divinacionibus

Transcripts of all these sections are included in Appendix B, with the exception of Section VIII which is derived entirely from the Etymologiarum of Isidore of Seville. Parts I - IV of the treatise, dealing with the Jews, the Catholic faith and Antichrist, have not so far been printed from any manuscript.

Mss. containing the Anonymous of Passau treatise

GROUP I, containing the longer text

- 1) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 311, fos. 1ra-106vb (complete codex). Parchment. Date: 2nd half of 14c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. 311 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, Editio altera, I,i (Munich, 1892) 78-79. Incipit: De patribus qui ante circumcisionem fuerunt et de patribus ante legem et de Iudeis qui sub lege fuerunt et Iudeis modernis blasphemis qui sunt sine lege et de Iudeis qui erunt in futuro seculo sub Messya. Fides catholica impugnatur a Iudeis hereticis et paganis et falsis christianis. Sed certissime constat per Christianos qui circumcisi fuerunt et per hereticos qui ad ecclesiam redierunt quid uterque omnes quos possunt viros et feminas laycos et clericos et religiosas personas ad suas sectas sollicitant et seducunt et de lege sua gloriantes et eam auctoritatibus et rationibus extollentes et suos credentes per promissionem temporalium allicientes et fidem catholicam blasphemantes. Omnem hominem qui non est de secta eorum condemnant. Et quia frequenter contuli cum hereticis et Iudeis expertus sum quod plus prodest circa utrosque simplex collatio quam subtilis disputatio. Ideo compilavi hoc opusculum simplicissimum contra perfidiam Iudeorum ex testimoniis legis et prophetarum et ex agyographis et testimoniis Iosephi et hystorie scolastice et ecclesiastice et tripartite et contra hereticorum Leonistarum auctoritatibus novi testamenti. Dividitur autem hoc opusculum in undecim

partes. Prima pars agit de fide patrum qui fuerunt ante legem Moysi. Secunda de infidelitate Iudeorum qui nunc sunt. Tercia de fide catholica Ihesu Christi. Quarta de antichristo. Et quia heretici Paterini vetus testamentum non recipiunt nec patres, et Leoniste omnia statuta ecclesie Romane a tempore apostolorum respuunt et condempnunt, ideo quinta pars huius opusculi agit de hereticis. vi, de Sarracenorum secta. vii, in quibus Iudei, heretici et pagani concordent nobiscum. viii, de philosophorum sectis. ix, de ydolatriis. x, de divinacionibus. xi, de secta ypocritarum qui vocantur vulgariter Sterzer. xii, de virtutibus et miraculis et passionibus sanctorum que probant veritatem et perfeccionem fidei Christiane.

- [I] fos. 1rb-4rb. Incipit prima pars. In prima parte ubi agitur de fide patrum ante legem...
- [II] fos. 4rb-4lrb. De transgressionem legum et mutacione Iudeorum qui nunc sunt...(includes: Pars Talmut translata a fratre Theobaldo superiore Parisiense).
- [III] fos. 4lrb-72rb. In tercia parte huius opusculi primo probatur vocacio gencium...(includes: Prefacio precapitulata fidei Catholice sive supradicto operis Ysidori Yspaniensis episcopi ad Florentinam sororem suam).
- [IV] fos. 72rb-79rb. De antichristo. In hac quarto parte huius opusculi agitur primo de antichristo. ii, de hereticis Leonistis. iii, de Machumet et de Sarracenis. iiii, de sectis phylosophorum. v, de ydolatria. vi, de divinacionibus. vii, de secta ypocritarum qui vocantur vulgariter Sterzer. Quia Iudei Messyam verum, id est Christum, recipere noluerunt alius Messyas qui est falsus antichristus veniet et hunc recipient. De antichristo venturo. Antichristus veniet habundantie peccatorum...audacia ferociter efficiatur et cetera. Explicit liber antichristi.
- [V] fos. 79rb-104ra. Errores hereticorum, pauperum de Lugduno, et Runchariorum, et Paterinorum. Prima Iohannis ii^o: Audistis quia antichristus venit nunc autem multi antichristi facti sunt. Unde scimus quia hora novissima est; glosa: antichristi sunt omnes heretici qui fidem quam confitentur destruunt artibus [sic] omnes Christo contrarii

et quia heu nunc multi sunt heretici ideo de hereticis nota. Primo vi causas heresum. Secundo causas quare pauperum de Lugduno heresis perniciosior est ceteris. iii, articulos in quibus erant [sic] Leoniste et probationes errorum per Catholicum. iiii, quod Leoniste non servant totum ewangelium ut se iactant serere [sic]. v, de sectis. vi, de nominibus sectarum. vii, quomodo heretici cognoscantur. viii, qualiter heretici examinantur. ix, de occasionibus errorum hereticorum. x, de penis.

- [i] Hereticus est...ut symoniacus
- [ii] De commendacione fidei Christiane. Fidem ecclesie Romane probant et commendant...sed heretici dampnant omnes preter apostolos.
- [iii] De causis heresis. Heresis vi cause sunt...et de hoc nullum iudicium est secutum.
- [iv] Quod secte pauperum de Lugduno perniciosior sit quam cetera. Secte hereticorum plusquam lxx fuerunt...proficit doctrina ipsorum.
- [v] Articuli heresum. Distinguitur autem hoc opusculum in tres partes...sed propter questum.
- [vi] In hoc opusculo primo ponitur error heretici...qui nusquam legitur iurasse.
- [vii] Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie ad pauperes de Lugduno qui sunt in Alamannia. Ad honorem patris...semper cum omnibus vobis. Amen.
- [viii] Has ecclesias infecerant Leoniste. Prima ecclesia in Lenginveld...in Nachleub.
- [ix] Ewangelium eternum quod noviter est confictum continet xxx errores qui excepti sunt de libris quinque Joachim. De prima parte huius libri...non durabunt ammodo per vi annos.
- [x] Compilacio de novo spiritu. Hec continet C errores minus tribus. Conventicula facere...Ioviniani est heresis.
- [xi] Primo dicunt quod quilibet homo quantumcunque peccaverit...et in habitatione in homine spiritui sancto.

- [xii] De Runchariis. Nota quod Runcharii concordant in parte magna cum Paterinis...aliquid facerent horum.
- [xiii] De secunda secta Ortlibariorum. Ortlibarii dicunt quod mundus non habet principium...est loco spiritus sancti. Ordinenses errant in multis... et salvatus ut dicunt.
- [xiv] Summa fratris Reinheri quondam heresiarche contra Katharos tertia secta. Sciendum est primum quod prima secta Katharorum...secreta minime revelantur.
- [xv] Paterinus dicit quod minor creator...ideo non credunt miracula ecclesie.
- [xvi] Manichei iiii secta. Furta, rapinas non dampnant... ita fame perimunt.
- [xvii] De nominibus sectarum. Heretici quidem vocantur ex nomine auctorum...omnes delectationes exercent.
- [xviii] Leoniste non servant ewangelium. Quere ab heretico Leonista an doctrina Ihesu Christi soli apostoli teneantur servare...non potest dissolvi doctrina eorum.
- [xix] Quomodo heretici cognoscantur. Cognoscuntur heretici per mores et verba...de templo Salomonis.
- [xx] Student eciam callide qualiter se ingerant familiaritate nobilium et magnorum...in domo discunt de secta ipsorum.
- [xxi] De modo examinandi hereticos. Cui commissa est inquisicio...deterius erit tibi.
- [xxii] Questiones heretico faciende. Queratur ab heretico examinando si aliqua sacra verba didicerit... integraliter presbiteris confitendus necne. Hec supra in titulo de articulis heresum.
- [xxiii] Cum in publico fit inquisicio...ab ecclesia unitate.
- [xxiv] Qualiter heretici puniuntur. Punitur hereticus iiii modis...ipsa pietas.
- [xxv] Sentencia domini pape contra Paterinos. Excommunicamus et anathematizamus...irritum et inane.

- [xxvi] Hee sunt occasiones errorum. Quidam in ecclesia dictis et factis...quod si non facerit fit irregularis. Errores de novo spiritu respice ante xviii folia.
- [VI] fos. 104ra-104va. De Machometo et de Sarracenorum lege. Machomet utriusque parente orbatus...quia ita usum est populis.
- [VII] fos. 104va-105ra. De concordia fidei. Licet fides ecclesie impugnatur a Iudeis hereticis et paganis et falsis Christianis...conficiebant in lingua hebrea.
- [VIII] fos. 105ra-105vb. De sectis philosophorum. Philosophi greca appellatione vocantur...et idem retractus implicatur.
- [IX] fo. 105vb. De ydolis. Inter ydola gencium quedam ymages erant...est in ydolatria aliarum rerum.
- [X] fos. 106ra-106rb. De divinacionibus. Divinacionum multe sunt species...et sic spoliant rebus.
- [XI] fos. 106rb-106va. Secte ypocritarum. Ypochrite qui Sterzer vocantur...quas omnes relinquunt.
- [XII] deest. In its place, fos. 106va-106vb: De corrupcionibus diversa negotio. Fidem Katholicam corrupunt...diebus operantur. Amen. Explicit liber.

Referred to as codex B.

- 2) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm. 9558, fos. 1r-144v. Parchment. Date: 1399 (the last page - fos. 149v - contains the note: Anno Milleno Quadrigentesimo minus uno Frater Gallus tibi iubet hunc librum Petre scribi. Pro quo detur ei lux eterne requiei). Provenance: Benedictine house of Ober-Alteich, Bavaria (former reference: 58). Contents of ms. 9558 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, II,i (Munich, 1874) 103.
Incipit: De patribus qui ante circumcisionem fuerunt...
Explicit:...que in festis diebus operantur. Explicit talmuth ex omni parte probatus. (The remaining fos. - 145r-149v - contain "Pharetra contra Iudeos").
Contents and arrangement as above in Clm 311.
- 3) Erfurt, City Library, Ampl. Quarto 149, fos. 1ra-81ra (complete codex). Parchment. Date: early 14c. Provenance: Amponian collection at Erfurt (referred to in catalogue of 1412 as ms. Theol. 120, and described there as: Item liber egregius de veritate fidei catholice, de ipsius

articulis credendis, de eius sacramentis, de premio et eius comminatione atque de erroribus et blasphemis omnium sectarum seu heresum et continet totum Alkoranum de lege Mahumet et Sarracenorum). Contents of ms. 149 described in W. Schum, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt (Berlin, 1887) 410.

Incipit: De patribus qui ante circumcisionem fuerunt...

Explicit...Que in festis diebus operantur. Finito libro detur laus gloria Christo.

Contents and arrangement as above in Clm. 311.

Referred to as codex A.

GROUP II, containing the shorter text

- 1) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 2714, fos. 1ra-75va (complete codex). Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Cistercian house of Alderspach, Bavaria (former reference: 184). Contents of ms. 2714 described in Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, Editio altera, I, ii (Munich, 1894) 31.

Incipit: De patribus qui ante circumcisionem fuerunt... fidei christiane.

- [I] fos. 1rb-3vb. In prima parte ubi agitur de fide patrum ante legem...
- [II] fos. 3vb-14rb. De transgressionem legis et mutacione Iudeorum qui nunc sunt...
- [III] fos. 14rb-45rb. In tercia parte huius opusculi primo probatur vocacio gencium...
- [IV] fos. 45va-54rb. Incipit quarta pars principalis huius operis. De antichristo venturo. In hac quarta pars huius opusculi agitur primo de antichristo... recipient habundantie peccatorem. Antichristus veniet in tempore...audacia ferociter efficiatur et cetera.
- [V] fos. 55ra-72rb. Errores hereticorum, pauperum de Lugduno et Runkariorum et Paterinorum
Prima Iohannis ii^o...x de penis hereticorum.
 - [i] Hereticus est...ut simonachus
 - [ii] De causis heresum. Heresis vi cause sunt...
et de hoc nullum iudicium est secutum.

- [iii] Quod secte pauperum de Lugduno perniciosior sit quam ceterae sectae. Sectae hereticorum plusquam lxx fuerunt...quidam etiam in scriptis catholicorum (account of origin of Poor Men of Lyons omitted).
- [iv] Articuli heresum. Distinguitur autem hoc opusculum in tres partes...sed propter questum.
- [v] In hoc opusculo primo ponitur error heretici... qui nusquam legitur iurasse.
- [vi] De secta Runkariorum. De secunda secta Runkariorum. Nota quod Runcarii concordant in parte magna cum Paterinis...aliquid facerent horum.
- [vii] De secta Ordibensium. Tercia secta est Ordibensium. Hii dicunt quod Christus fuit filius Ioseph et Marie...loco spiritus sancti.
- [viii] De secta Katharorum. Quarta secta est Katharorum et Paterinorum. Kathari dicuntur a chartho cuius posteriora osculantur...sed contra Romanam ecclesiam sunt unite.
- [ix] De secta Manichorum [sic]. Quinta secta est Manichorum. Hii de semine virginis vel sanguine pueri cum farina conficiunt panem... quod x annis portaverat cilicium ad carnem propter Luciferum.
- [x] Legitur in decretis causa xxiiii quae ultima. De nominibus hereticorum. Heretici quidam vocantur ex nomine auctorum ut Symoniari... omnes delectationes exercent.
- [xi] Quod heretici non totum ewangelium servant ut se iactant. Quere a Leonista an doctrina Iesu Christi soli apostoli teneantur...omnem sollicitudinem.
- [xii] Qualiter cognoscantur. Cognoscuntur heretici quia convenient in latibulis et discunt et docent...que in simbolo dicuntur.
- [xiii] Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie ad Leonistas in Alamannia. Ad honorem patris... semper cum omnibus vobis. Amen.
- [xiv] Ieronimus. Quomodo sacerdos mundus non facit leprosum...et si bona precipiunt non sunt audiendi.

- [xv] De modo examinandi eos. Querantur ab heretico si aliqua sacra verba...integraliter confitendus presbiteris vel perfunctorie.
- [xvi] Qua pena puniantur. Punitur hereticus secundum iura canonica ^{iiii^{or}} modis...ad abolendam. Puniuntur etiam prelati circa hec negligentes.
- [xvii] Sentencia pape contra Patherenos. Excommunicamus et anathematizamus...irritum et inane.
- [xviii] De occasionibus errorum hereticorum. Quidam in ecclesia dictis et factis plurimos scandalizat...Qui de dedicacionibus dant indulgenciam quod non habent.
- [VI] fos. 72rb-73ra. De secta Machometi et Sarracenorum. Machomet utroque parente orbatus...sed quod ita visum est populis.
- [VII] fos. 73ra-73vb. De concordia fidei. Licet fides ecclesie...et fere in omnibus aliis in veteri testamento et novo.
- [VIII] fos. 73vb-74va. De sectis philosophorum. Philosophi greca appellacione vocantur...et idem retractus implicatur.
- [IX] fos. 74va-74vb. De ydolatria. Inter ydola gentium...est etiam ydolatria aliarum rerum.
- [X] fos. 74vb-75ra. De divinacionibus. Divinacionum multe sunt species...que fit per chrisma.
- [XI] fos. 75ra-75va. De secta hypocritarum. Hypocrite qui Stercer vocantur...Qui per candela omnes seras reserantes et homines in amenciam convertentes furta fornicaciones et cetera mala faciunt.

Explicit: [in another hand] Finito libro sit laus et gloria. Vivat qui scripsit vivat qui scribere vere iussit. Explicit explorsit [sic, two following words erased] Sit deus ante oculos semper que possit agendis.

Referred to as codex C.

- 2) Graz, University Library, 876, fos. 1r-32v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Benedictine house of St. Lambrecht, Styria (former reference: 286). Contents of ms. 876 described

in Anton Kern, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz, II (Vienna, 1956, in the series: Handschriftenverzeichnisse Österreichischer Bibliotheken. Steiermark) 95-96.

Incipit: Liber hereticorum, pauperum de Lugduno, et Rungariorum et Paterinorum. Prima Iohannis glosa: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...furta, fornicaciones et cetera mala faciunt. Et sic laudetur Christus.

This ms. contains the shorter Anonymous of Passau treatise with the exception of sections I-IV dealing with the Jews and Antichrist, and of parts xiii and xiv. It was written by Klemens Heuerraus, prior in St. Lambrecht c. 1450-70 (vide Anton Kern, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz, I (Leipzig, 1942, in the series Verzeichnis der Handschriften im Deutschen Reich) 95).

- 3) Vienna, National Library, 3271, fos. 49r-68v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. 3271 described in Tabulae codicum, II, 247.
Incipit: Tractatus de Leonistis et aliis hereticis et eorum erroribus et causis eorum. Prima Iohannis secundo: Audistis quia antichristus venit...
Explicit: ...et cetera mala faciunt.
 This ms. contains the shorter Anonymous of Passau treatise, with the exception of sections I-IV dealing with the Jews and Antichrist, and of part xiv of section V dealing with heresy. Fos. 68v-69r contain, as a separate item, a list of errors: Hec heresis noviter inventa apud Mordlingen [i.e. Nördlingen]. [P]rimo dicunt quod, quilibet homo quantumcunque peccaverit possit in anno precellere...quod a deo preordinatum sit (cf. section V, xi of the longer Anonymous of Passau text).

- 4) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, D.51, fos. 106v-122v. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: unknown. Contents of ms. D.51 described in A.Patera and A.Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské, I (Prague, 1910) 354-61.

Incipit: Prima Iohannis secundo: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

Explicit: ...Qui indirecte confessiones produnt ut qui occulta peccata scribunt.

This ms. contains section V, dealing with heresy, of the shorter Anonymous of Passau treatise, with the exception of parts ix, x, xiii and xiv. It is interesting for a number of Czech glosses which occur in part ii: Heresis sex sunt cause. These are: Eructavit, der mayde salm,

dyewczye psalm; Exurgat deus, der roch salme, pomstylywy
psalm; De profundis, der ro salm, surowy psalm...Ecclesiam
vocant steynhaus, kameny dom.

The following ms. appears to be based on the shorter Anonymous
of Passau treatise:

Prague, University Library, I F. 18, fos. 218r-227r.
Paper. 15c. Provenance: Rosenberg library (this ms.
appears in a catalogue of 1609); afterwards the Augustinian
house of Třebon (Wittingau) Bohemia. Contents of ms. I F. 18
described in Joseph Truhlář, Catalogus codicum manu
scriptorum latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque
Universitatis Pragensis asservantur, I (Prague, 1905) 100-04.
Incipit: Tractatulus de errore Leonistarum et Rumbariorum
qui duraverunt tempore Silvestri et Ortlibariorum,
Katharorum et Paterinorum et Manicheorum qui adhuc serpunt
in Theutonia.

- [i] Ad habendam aliqualem noticiam perversi dogmatis
heretice pravitatis expedit scire...de hoc in fine
dicetur.
- [ii] Plurima de hiis que hic scripta sunt...In hoc opusculo
primo ponendus est error heretici...inter se sint
divisi tamen contra unitatem ecclesie sint coniuncti.
- [iii] Qualiter heretici cognoscantur. Cognoscuntur heretici
quia conveniunt...pro rationibus affirmant textum.
- [iv] De modo examinandi hereticos. Queratur ab heretico
examinando...integraliter presbiteris confitendum
vel perfunctorie.
- [v] De errore Orclibariorum. Tercia secta hereticorum
in Theutonia est Orclibariorum...Item sacerdotes vie
mendacii.
- [vi] De errore Katharorum et Paterinorum. Quarta secta
est Katharorum et Paterinorum. Kathari dicuntur
a catharo...sed contra Romanam ecclesiam sunt unite.
- [vii] De secta Manicheorum. Quinta secta est Manicheorum.
Hii de semine virginis...nec bona velle potest.
(Includes: Manichei cuiusdam confessio...).
- [viii] Item de errore Katharorum. Error Katharorum de alta
vita quam prodidit Lepzet hereticus...ne quis corpus
Christi audeat manducare.

- [ix] De errore quam heretici habent de ecclesia Romana per totum non diligentur. Primus error est quod ecclesia Romana non sit Christi ecclesia...reprobant ut festa luminum et diem cinerum.
- [x] De Leonistis qui iactant se de perfectione vite. Heretici Leoniste iactant se...spiritum sanctum visibiliter. Et sic de quam pluribus aliis.

Explicit tractulus de errore Leonistarum et Rumbariorum qui duraverunt tempore Sylvestri et Orclibariorum, Katharorum et Paterinorum et Manicheorum qui adhuc serpunt in Theutonia.

A German translation of part of the Anonymous of Passau treatise exists in Ms. 2846 of the National Library, Vienna. Attention was first drawn to this by Herman Haupt in his article "Ein deutscher Traktat über die österreichischen Waldenser des 13. Jahrhunderts", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXIII (Gotha, 1902) 189-90. The ms. dates from the 15c. Fos. 137rb-147ra contain the translation. Incipit: Hie mericket grosse keczerey dye ein der welde ist. Es schreibet ein lerer von den keczern... Explicit: ...und ist auch nicht ze thain. The translation is probably based on a ms. of the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise.

Other mss.

The following mss. contain collections of texts relating to heresy, some of which are also included in the Anonymous of Passau and Pseudo-Reinerius treatises.

- 1) Mainz, City Library, I 199, fos. 62ra-92va. Parchment. 13c. Provenance: Charterhouse of Mainz (former reference: 331). Contents of ms. I 199 described in an unpublished ms. catalogue in the City Library at Mainz.
 - [I] fos. 62ra-68va. Hec est determinatio magistri Alberti quondam Ratisponensis episcopi ordinis fratrum predicatorum super articulis invente heresis in Recia dyocesi Augustinensis.
 - [i] Conventicula facere...heresis est Ioviniani Ave Maria gracia.

[ii] De prima parte libri qui appellatur ewangelium eternum...et eiecit ab ordine minorum Anno domini mclxvi. Explicit determinatio heresis invente in Recia.

[II] fos. 73va-92va. Cupientes aliquid de hereticorum subtilitatibus corrumpentibus simplices falsis expositionibus scripturarum aperire: primo ponemus quot modis accipitur hereticus; secundo, secta expressis nominibus; tercio, articulos heresum rationibus pro et contra inclusis et occasionibus subnotatis adiutorem gratiam spiritus sancti invocantes.

[i] Hereticus est qui falsam opinionem...ut symoniacus.

[ii] Circa sectas notandum quod multe sunt. Quidam dicuntur Runcarii...omnes delectationes exercent. Omnes isti conveniunt in quibusdam articulis cum Runcariis, Ortlibariis, Catheris, Paterinis et Manicheis de quibusdam lacius est tractandum.

[iii] Quare notandum quod Runcarii dicunt...In aliis concordant cum Paterinis de quibus supra disputatum est.

[iv] Ortlibarii dicunt mundus non habere principium... et tantum moraliter eos exponunt.

[v] Cathari dicti sunt a cato...Ignem eternum et infernum credunt tantum esse in isto mundo.

[vi] Paterini dicunt quod minor creator scilicet dyabolus vel Lucifer omnia visibilia creavit... Item purgatorium negant.

[vii] Manichei furta et rapinas et sacrilegia non dampnant...illum perimunt.

[viii] Secta Pauperum de Lugduno hoc modo orta est... instare doctrine sue.

[ix] Horum error est et Leonistarum quod ecclesia Romananon sit ecclesia Ihesu Christi...pro levibus causis et quia incidunt in periuria.

[x] Preterea sciendum est quod secta Leonistarum perniciosior est aliis tribus de causis. Prima est quia diuturnior...et pugnando surge et iudica causam tuam.

- [xi] Cognoscuntur autem heretici verbis et moribus...
vel ociosi vel ydonei.
- [xii] Modus autem examinandi hereticos talis est...
et ab episcopo suo penitentiam accipit.
- [xiii] Punitur autem hereticus quattuor modis... Ipsa
pietas. Et hec dicta de hereticis sufficiant.

Referred to as codex E.

- 2) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 4386, fos. 76va-80ra.
Paper. 14-15c. Provenance: Benedictine house of Saint
Ulrich, Augsburg. Contents of ms. 4386 described in
Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis.
Editio altera, I, ii (Munich, 1894) 184-85.

Incipit: Cupientes aliquid subtilitatibus corrumpentibus
simplices falsis expositionibus scripturarum aperire...

Explicit: ...ipsa pietas et hec dicta de hereticis
sufficiant.

Contents and arrangement as in section II of ms.

Mainz I 199 above.

Fo. 80ra-rb contains a list of errors (in another hand):
Nota xxix articulos de heresi novi spiritus. Primus quod
quilibet homo quantumcunque peccaverit possit...29. quod
polluunt se corpore Christi (cf. section V, xi of the
longer Anonymous of Passau text).

- 3) Vienna, National Library, 1688, fos. 19va-40rb.
Parchment. Date: 14c. Provenance: Augustinian house
of Vorau, Styria. Contents of ms. 1688 described in
Tabulae codicum, I, 274-75. This is a collection of a
number of texts concerning heresy, the most important of
these being:

[i] Queratur ab heretico examinando si aliqua sacra
verba didicerit...(cf. section V, xxii, of the
longer and section V, xv, of the shorter Anonymous
of Passau treatise).

[ii] Antichristus veniet in tempore habundantie peccatorum...
(cf. section IV of both versions of the Anonymous
of Passau treatise).

[iii] The Summa of Reinerius Sacconi concerning the Cathars
and Waldensians (cf. section V, xiv, of the longer
Anonymous of Passau treatise).

- [iv] Doctrina fidei in tribus consistit in preceptis articulis, et sacramentis...(cf. Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm 7714, fos. 303r-304r, published by Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte II, pp. 297-301).
- [v] Nota quod Leoniste et Runcarii et quidam alii heretici accipiunt occasionem suorum errorum maxime a malis clericis...(a passage resembling section V, xxvi, of the longer, and section V, xviii, of the shorter Anonymous of Passau treatise).
- [vi] Est et alia secta qui dicitur ypocrite sed vulgariter Sterzer...(cf. section XI of both versions of the Anonymous of Passau treatise).
- [vii] Ex prima parte huius libri qui vocatur ewangelium eternum...(cf. section V, ix, of the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise).
- [viii] Contra Manicheos. Manichei nituntur probare naturam corporalem esse a diabolo...
- [ix] Dicunt Patareni quod omnes in inferno equaliter punientur...
- [x] Contra Manicheos. Tractaturi aliqua pro fide utilitate. Primo ponens rationes et auctoritates...
- [xi] A collection of pieces resembling those found also in the shorter Anonymous of Passau treatise (i.e. sections V, viii; V, ix; VIII; IX; and X).

The relationship between the two treatises

A comparison of the Anonymous of Passau and Pseudo-Reinerius treatises leaves no doubt that some kind of relationship ~~must~~ exists between them; but hitherto the exact nature of this has not been ascertained. Fortunately the inclusion of Sacchoni's Summa in both the longer Anonymous of Passau and Pseudo-Reinerius treatises provides a means whereby the fidelity of both to their original can be tested; I have therefore collated the mss. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise with both the Summa and the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise contained in mss. Clm. 311 and Erfurt 149. This collation shows quite clearly that the text of the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise corresponds far more closely to its original than does the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise. Moreover the slight deviations from Sacchoni's text which occur in the former appear also, almost without exception, in the latter, which contains yet other variant readings peculiar to itself. There could be no doubt in the face of this evidence that the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, or at least that section of it which deals with the Cathars, was derived from the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise.

A collation of the remaining parts of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise with the corresponding sections of the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise shows conclusively that the former was entirely derived from the latter. In

almost every case the readings of the Anonymous of Passau treatise are to be preferred to those of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, while the variants of the a,b,d,h,q,cc recension of the latter, which had already been established as the best extant recension, are confirmed by the comparison with mss. A and B. The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise is in fact a shortened version of parts V - XI of the longer Anonymous of Passau treatise. The reason for the preparation of such a shortened version is clear when the length of Anonymous of Passau treatise is considered; such a compendious text could not have been copied quickly enough to supply the need which had arisen for a guide to heresy. Within a short time, indeed, an abbreviated form of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise itself was prepared, represented today by seven mss. (m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd).

A full discussion of the relationship between the shorter and longer recensions of the Anonymous of Passau treatise is not within the scope of this edition; in any case it will not be possible to establish the nature of this relationship until the extant mss. of both versions have been collated throughout. A cursory examination of both recensions suggests that the shorter is probably closer in content to the original treatise than the longer.¹ This conclusion affects the questions of the date and provenance

1. It is true that the earliest ms. of the shorter recension, Clm. 2714, contains many errors and omissions not found in mss. of the longer recension (vide Dr. Unterkircher's remarks, op. cit. p. 45).

of the Anonymous of Passau treatise, a discussion of which must precede any consideration of the date and provenance of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise.

The only internal evidence as to the date of composition of the Anonymous of Passau treatise occurs in both recensions, in the third section, "De fide Katholica":

"Lex Christi est...diuturnior [duravit enim] per m cc lx annos sed eorum [i.e. of the Jews] vix duravit per annos d ccc a dacione legis usque ad Jeroboam...".¹

Preger's hypothesis that this is intended to refer to the age of the Catholic faith at the time of writing (i.e. 1260) is reasonable enough.² An examination of the contents of the treatise tends to confirm this date. If the introductory list of contents³ (given in both recensions) may be used as a guide parts V - XI of the original treatise seem to have been made up as follows:

V Introductory paragraph: Prima Iohannis ii^o...
x, de penis.

Heresis est...ut symoniacus (Clm. 311: ii;
Clm. 2714: i)

i) vi causas heresum (Clm. 311: iii; Clm. 2714: ii)
ii) Causas quare pauperum de Lugduno heresis
perniciosior est ceteris (Clm. 311: iv; Clm.
2714: iii)

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1. Clm. 2714, fo. 36va. Cf. fo. 37v: "iii probat diuturnitas fidei. Duravit enim m cc lx annis immo ab exordio mundi".
 2. K. Müller, Die Waldenser, p. 154, suggests that the 1260 years should be counted from the time of Christ's first preaching or death, making 1290 or 1293 the date to be inferred. This argument is effectively countered by Preger, Ueber das Verhältniß der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern, pp. 20-21.
 3. See above p. xxix for the list of contents given in Clm. 311. A corresponding list occurs in Clm. 2714 and other mss. of the shorter recension.

- iii) Articulos in quibus errant Leoniste et probaciones errorum per Catholicum (Clm. 311: v,vi?; Clm. 2714: iv,v?)
- iv) Quod Leoniste non servant totum ewangelium ut se iactant servare (Clm. 311: xviii; Clm. 2714: xi)
- v) De sectis (Clm. 311: xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi; Clm. 2714: vi, vii, viii, ix. The contents of this section differ considerably in the two recensions)
- vi) De nominibus sectarum (Clm. 311: xvii; Clm. 2714: x)
- vii) Quomodo heretici cognoscantur (Clm. 311: xix, xx; Clm. 2714: xii)
- viii) Qualiter heretici examinantur (Clm. 311: xxi, xxii, xxiii; Clm. 2714: xv)
- ix) De occasionibus errorum hereticorum (Clm. 311: xxvi; Clm. 2714: xviii)
- x) De penis (Clm. 311: xxiv, xxv; Clm. 2714: xvi, xvii)
- VI De Sarracenorum secta
- VII In quibus Iudei, heretici et pagani concordent nobiscum
- VIII De philosophorum sectis
- IX De ydolatriis
- X De divinacionibus
- XI De secta ypocritarum qui vocantur vulgariter Sterzer¹

1. In the introductory list of contents to the whole work (in both recensions) reference is made to a section XII: De virtutibus et miraculis et passionibus sanctorum que probant veritatem et perfeccionem fidei Christiane. No further reference is made to this section, but a twelfth section headed De corruptentibus diversa negotio appears in the longer recension. This is presumably a later addition.

V

Of the above sections only (i) vi causas heresum, (iv) Quod Leoniste non servant totum ewangelium, (ix) De occasionibus errorum hereticorum, (VI) De Sarracenorum secta, (VII) In quibus Iudei, (IX) De ydolatriis, (X) De divinacionibus and (XI) De secta ypocritarum do not seem to be derived from or contained in other works, and thus may be the work of the anonymous compiler of the treatise.¹ It seems probable that the following sections were later additions:

De commendacione fidei Christiane

Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie ad pauperes de Lugduno qui sunt in Alamannia (c. 1218-30; both recensions)

Has ecclesias infecerant Leoniste (1266; longer recension only)

Ewangelium quod noviter est confictum (1254; longer recension only)

Compilacio de novo spiritu (c. 1270; longer recension only)

Primo dicunt quod quilibet homo (c. 1270; longer recension only)

De corrumpentibus diversa negotio (longer recension only).

-
1. Most of parts I - IV, on the Jews, the Catholic faith, and Antichrist is presumably by the compiler, although lengthy extracts from the works of other authors appear here too, notably Isidore of Seville's De fide catholica... contra Judaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam (published in Migne, P.L. LXXXIII, cols. 449-538) and the translation of part of the Talmud by Theobald of Paris.

Thus it is only the longer recension which contains matter known to date from after 1266;¹ moreover it is reasonable to suppose that the inquisition of 1266 had not taken place at the time when the original treatise was composed for otherwise some reference to it might be expected. There is in fact no reason why we should not accept Preger's date of 1260 (or thereabouts for the work may well have taken longer than a year to complete). This dating is important for if accepted it follows that those sections which are held to form part of the original treatise must relate to heresies in existence before 1260.

The identity of the compiler presents a further problem. In the introduction to the treatise he claims to be well acquainted with both heretics and Jews;² it is probable therefore that he held inquisitorial powers. Preger, basing his opinion on the contents of the treatise, considered that he was connected with the diocese of Passau. Although the treatise does not relate solely or even mainly to the diocese of Passau and its neighbouring regions, there are several reasons for agreeing with Preger's hypothesis. Two sections

1. It is true that the shorter recension contains a reference to the murder of the plebanus at Kematen: the date of this is not known but it is likely that it occurred shortly before 1266 and helped to inspire the inquisition of that year. However this reference may well be an addition to the original treatise (see below, p. liv).
2. "...quia frequenter contuli cum hereticis et Iudeis expertus sum quod plus prodest circa utrosque simplex collacio quam subtilis disputacio." Clm. 2714, fo. Ira; Clm. 311, fo. Ira.

of the "original" treatise ("vi causas heresum" and "De occasionibus errorum"), both of which may very well have been composed by the anonymous compiler, contain references to places in the diocese of Passau.¹ Another section ("In hoc opusculo primo ponitur error heretici") contains glosses, probably added by the compiler himself, which also refer to places in that diocese?² Most important of all, however, is a piece of autobiographical information, contained in the shorter recension only, which establishes his connection with the diocese of Passau beyond doubt. This is as follows:

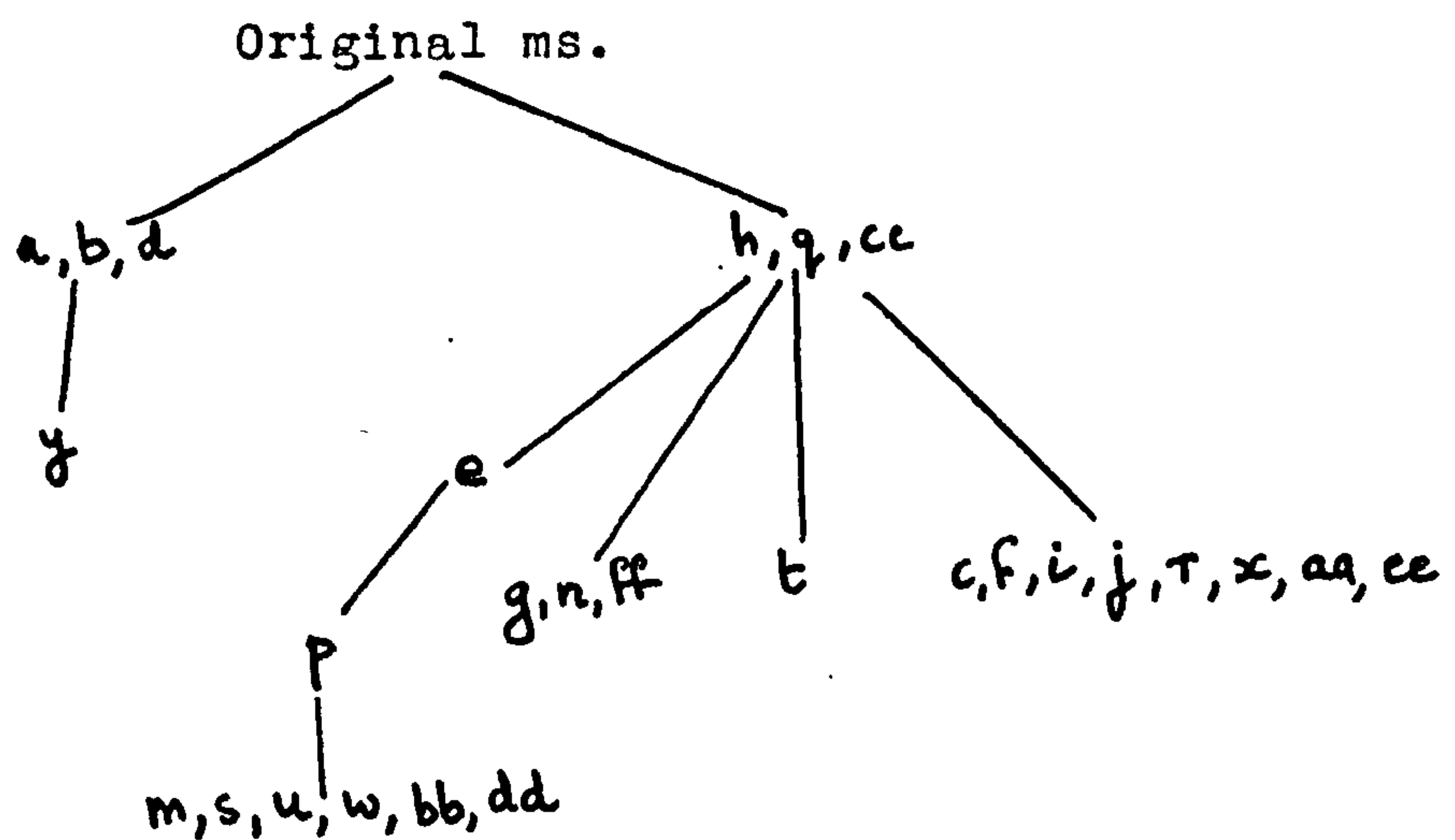
"Notorium est quod duo sacerdotes et dyaconus de uno clauastro in dyocesi Pataviensis simul circumcisi fuerunt et proditi per baptizatum Iudeum quorum unus per me detentus fuit et revocatus ad fidem per quem multa didici de secretis nequiciis et blasphemis Iudeorum. Scripsit enim michi circa C personas qui se circumciderant ex quibus quidam erant religiosi quidam clerici ex quibus unus fuit canonicus³ Argentinensis Ulricus Sunnehalp cognomine...".

The compiler of the so-called Anonymous of Passau treatise was thus in all probability a cleric charged with the

1. i.e. Tewen (Devin), Kematen, the river Ibbs, Zwetel (Zwettl).
2. i.e. Zwetel (Zwettl) and Drozo (probably Dross, Lower Austria).
3. Clm. 2714, fo. 45ra-rb. This passage does not seem to have been noted by Preger: he quotes, however, the following passage from the section against the Jews concerning the birth-place of the Anonymous of Passau: "Item quibusdam sine meritis invitis sancti parant beneficia sanitatum ut cuidam ribaldo, quem a 30 annis paralyticum et contractum, ita ut reperet super terram, vidi in capella et in die Jacobi perfectam sanitatem adeptum...Hoc accidit in villa, in qua natus sum" (Clm. 311, fo. 58. Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern, p.26). This passage does not appear in the shorter recension.

inquisition in the diocese of Passau, who about the year 1260 was engaged in compiling a work on the enemies of the Catholic faith, particularly Jews and heretics. This work was afterwards revised and augmented, perhaps to some extent by himself, a longer version being prepared some time after 1270. It is this longer version which provided the basis for the short account of heresy and its suppression known today as the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise. It is doubtful whether the preparation of this treatise was undertaken by the Anonymous of Passau; it contains too many misreadings and omissions. Like the longer work, however, it was undoubtedly prepared in connection with the inquisition in the diocese of Passau, which gradually became more effective from the early fourteenth century onwards. It is not possible to ascribe the preparation of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise to a more definite date than some time during the period 1270 - c. 1300. The relatively large number of copies of the treatise preserved at the present time mostly within the area of the former diocese of Passau, suggests that it rapidly became an authoritative and frequently consulted text.

Table showing suggested relationships between the mss. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, on the basis of internal similarities



CHAPTER III - The contents of the treatise:
an analysis of the sections
included in the Pseudo-Reinerius
treatise, with notes on the
sections making up the Anonymous
of Passau treatise

The contents of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

The sections described below are not conterminous with the chapter divisions of the 36 or 10 chapter versions but represent the original sections from which the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise was compiled, in so far as these can be distinguished.

For ease of reading the following abbreviations have been used:

Ps-R.: Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

A.P.: Anonymous of Passau treatise

Section 1 - Introduction: Audistis quia antichristus venit...

The introductory paragraph containing a quotation from the First Epistle of St. John, II, v. 18, with a gloss upon it referring to heresy, appears also in both versions of the A.P. The list of chapter headings which follows contains 36 headings in the a,b,d,y recensions and 10 headings in all other mss. of the Ps-R. A similar list in the A.P. also gives 10 chapter headings, but these do not correspond with those of the 10-chapter Ps-R. Certain headings, however, are the same in both treatises:

- a) De causis heresum: iii in 36 chapter and 10 chapter Ps-R.
 vi causas heresum: i in A.P.
- b) Quod Leoniste non
 servant ewangelium
 et quod iactant
 tamen se servare: xxxv in 36 chapter Ps-R.
 Quod Leoniste non
 servant totum
 ewangelium ut se
 iactant servare: iv in A.P.

- c) De nominibus
sectarum: xxvi in 36 chapter Ps-R.;
vi in 10 chapter Ps-R. and A.P.
- d) Quomodo heretici
cognoscantur: xxvii in 36 chapter Ps-R.;
vii in 10 chapter Ps-R. and A.P.
- e) De modo examinandi
hereticum: xxix in 36 chapter Ps-R.
De modo examinandi
hereticos: ix in 10 chapter Ps-R.
Qualiter heretici
examinantur: viii in A.P.
- f) Quomodo heretici
sint puniendi: xxxii in 36 chapter Ps-R.
Quomodo heretici
puniantur: x in 10 chapter Ps-R.
De penis: x in A.P.

Section 2 - Fidem Romane ecclesie probant...preter apostolos
(chapter i)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section i). It is possibly a later addition. It is of special interest as being the only section which is given in a longer form in the Ps-R. than in the A.P. This may seem at first to controvert the argument that the former is derived entirely from the latter, but on examination of the longer A.P. it will be found that the extra matter of the Ps-R. appears there, with few differences, in one of the earlier sections, De fide Katholica.¹ It is probable, therefore, that the arranger of the Ps-R. decided to enlarge his treatise by including further examples of the power of the Christian faith drawn from this part of the A.P.

1. Cf. ms. Erfurt Ampl. 149, fos. 39ra-41rb; the paragraphs concerned are headed 'De signis que Christus fecit in regibus' and 'De signis que sancti fecerunt coram principibus et regibus'.

* The source of the legendary material cited in this section is difficult to determine. These miraculous stories were widely diffused in the thirteenth century and were popularised by compendia such as the Legenda aurea of Jacobus de Voragine and the Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum of Jean de Mailly (cf. A. Dondaine, "Le Dominicain Jean de Mailly et la Légende dorée", Archives d'histoire dominicaine, I (Paris, 1946) pp. 53-102). I have not found it possible to trace the exact archetypes used by the compiler of the A.P.

Section 3 - Nota quod ille est hereticus...ut symoniacus
(chapter ii)

This short paragraph on the definition of a heretic appears also in both versions of the A.P. (sections ii in the longer and i in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It is based on the definition given by Raymond of Peñafort in his Summa de casibus (otherwise known as the Summa de poenitentia) composed sometime during the period 1227-1234.¹ Raymond's definition is as follows:

...Quatuor modis dicitur haereticus; dicitur enim haereticus errans a fide; unde sic diffinitur ab Augustino: haereticus est, qui falsam de fide opinionem, vel gignit, vel sequitur: gignit, ut haeresiarcha, puta, Arrius, Sabellius; sequitur, ut qui haeresiarcham imitatur, velut Arriani, & Sabelliani. 24. quaest. 3. haereticus. Item (ut ait H.³) haereticus potest appellari, licet ab Ecclesia non recesserit, qui aliter intelligit scripturam, quam sensus Spiritus sancti flagitat, a quo scripta est. ut 24. quaest. 3. haeresis. Item dicitur haereticus a sacramentis Ecclesiae, vel communione fidelium divisus, ut est excommunicatus. 4. quaest. 1. quod autem dicitur etiam haereticus perversor sacramentorum; ut symoniacus, qui vendit, vel emit ecclesiastica. 1. q. 1...(Liber I,v).⁴

Section 4 - Nota quod sex sunt cause heresis...nullum iudicium est secutum (chapters iii-iv)

This section appears also in both versions of the A.P. (sections iii in the longer and ii in the shorter recension).

1. Stephan Kuttner, Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140-1234) (Studi e Testi, 71; Rome, 1937) p. 445.
2. Cf. St. Augustine, De utilitate credendi, M.P.L., 42, col. 65.
3. i.e. Hieronymus: cf. St. Jerome, Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas, M.P.L., 26, col. 445.
4. Summa Sti. Raymundi de Peniafort Barcinonensis Ord. Praedicatorum de Poenitentia et Matrimonio... (Rome, 1603) p. 38.

It most probably formed part of the original compilation.

The writer, who may have been the compiler of the A.P., adduces examples from his own experience with the Austrian heretics of the Danube basin, and the section is thus a valuable contribution to our knowledge of these heretics during the middle years of the thirteenth century. Six "causes" only are referred to in the chapter heading and it is possible that the seventh "cause" was added at a later date, though probably by the same writer.¹ This seventh "cause" contains an allusion to the number of churches (i.e. parishes?) in the diocese of Passau which were infected by heresy. In the Ps-R. this number is given as 42 and the reference is apparently to the following list of places situated in the diocese of Passau known to have been infected by heresy in 1266; in the A.P., however, the number is given as 40,² and the reference is not directly to the list of places, which occurs much further on in the longer A.P. and not at all in the shorter A.P. Allusion is also made in the seventh "cause" to the murder of the parish priest of Kematen. The exact date of this is not known; if, as seems probable, this event provided a stimulus for the inquisition of 1266 it must have occurred some time before that date.

1. The style is homogeneous and the locality referred to is the same.

2. The "ix" in ms. Erfurt Amplon. Quarto 149 seems to be an error for xl.

Section 5 - Sunt autem iste ecclesie...Nachleub (chapter iv)

This section is contained also in the longer A.P. (section viii). It is most probably an addition to the original compilation. It comprises a list of places in the diocese of Passau which have been infected by heresy; this is undated but the inquisition to which it refers most probably took place in 1266, this date being given to a similar list included in an account of the inquisition at Krems in 1315 (see Appendix A, Transcript 1). Such information is rare from the thirteenth century and this section is therefore of the greatest interest.

41 places are listed in the Ps-R. and 42 in the longer A.P., the additional one being Algerspach (Ollersbach, Lower Austria) omitted by mistake in the former treatise.¹ The places mentioned may be identified as follows² (cf. map):

Lengenveld.....	Lengenfeld, Lower Austria		
Strezinge.....	Stratzing,	"	"
Leubs.....	Langenlois,	"	"
Drozendorf.....	Drosendorf,	"	"
Sanctum Oswaldum.....	St. Oswald,	"	"
Enzinspach.....	Anzbach,	"	"
[Algerspach.....	Ollersbach,	"	"]
Sanctum Christoforum.....	St. Christofen,"	"	"

1. Mss. of the best tradition (a,b,d,h,q,cc) preface the list with a reference to 42 places though listing only 41 (see below, p.20) suggesting that the omission of Ollersbach is a scribal error.

2. The list has previously been published by Preger from Clm. 9558, a relatively late ms. of the longer A.P. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier, pp. 241-42). His identification of the places mentioned is unreliable. I have followed Haupt (Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland, pp. 299-300) in identifying the places according to a supposed geographical arrangement of the list, i.e. it moves westwards across Lower Austria and into Upper Austria.

Pehaimchirichen.....	Böheimkirchen, Lower Austria		
Ibsa.....	Ibbs,	"	"
Sanctum Georium.....	St. Georgen,	"	"
Ansteten.....	Amstetten,	"	"
Wichlatim.....	Winklarn,	"	"
Nwerstat.....	Neustadtl,	"	"
Ardacher.....	Ardagger,	"	"
Sitensteten.....	Seitenstetten,	"	"
Sanctum Petrum in Awgea.....	St. Peter in der Au,"	"	"
Aspach.....	Aschbach,	"	"
Wolfspach.....	Wolfsbach,	"	"
Weitra.....	Weistrach,	"	"
Hag.....	Haag,	"	"
Sunnelburch.....	Sindelburg,	"	"
Sanctum Valentinum.....	St. Valentin,	"	"
Hederichshoven.....	Haidershofen,	"	"
Stiria.....	Steyer,		Upper Austria
Sanctum Florianum.....	St. Florian,	"	"
Ansvelde.....	Ansfelden,	"	"
Syrnich.....	Sierning,	"	"
Weizzenchirichen.....	Weisskirchen,	"	"
Chemenaten.....	Kematen,	"	"
Neuenhoven.....	Neuhofen,	"	"
Welsa.....	Wels,	"	"
Swans.....	Schwanenstadt,	"	"
Gunschirichen.....	Gunskirchen,	"	"
Sanctam Mariam.....	St. Marienkirchen,"	"	"
Pupinge.....	Pupping,	"	"
Griezchirichen.....	Grieskirchen,	"	"
Nerden.....	Naarn,	"	"
Anaso.....	Enns,	"	"
Puchirichen.....	Buchkirchen,	"	"
Atergeu scilicet in Chamer.....	Kammer in Attergau,	"	"
Nechleub.....	Nalb,		Lower Austria

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1. The list given in the account of the inquisition at Krems specifies "Neuhofen circa Ipsam", i.e. Neuhofen on the Ibbs, Lower Austria. According to the grouping noted by Haupt, however, Neuhofen should be in Upper Austria; and I have followed him in identifying this place as Neuhofen on the Krems, Upper Austria. It is possible that Phylippus of Pöchlarn, the scribe of the account of the Krems inquisition, who was writing in 1315, was responsible for the addition "circa Ipsam" to the 1266 list.

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MAP OF UPPER AND
LOWER AUSTRIA

Showing places mentioned
in the inquisitions for heresy
1266 and 1315

1:1,000,000

The list given in the account of the inquisition at Krems is arranged differently¹ and omits Ollersbach, Buchkirchen and Nalb, but includes Puksching (Pucking, Upper Austria) and Nöchling (Nöchling, Lower Austria). A similar list, headed "Hic nota nomina civitatum ecclesiarum villarum in quibus heretici habuerunt episcopatus et scholas suas et cetera" (see below Appendix A, Transcript iii) is given in ms. Sankt Florian XI, 328. The arrangement here is very similar to that of the A.P. and Ps-R. lists, but Ollersbach, Amstetten, Winklarn, Neustadtl, Gunskirchen and Nalb do not appear.

Some additions to the list can be found in certain mss. of the Ps-R. Codices k and l both include Alderspach (presumably for Algerspach, i.e. Ollersbach) and Sewsenstain (Säusenstein, Lower Austria). The first of these additions suggests that the scribe of the k,l tradition had access to a copy of the Anonymous of Passau treatise; the mention of Säusenstein is probably an addition from personal knowledge that heresy existed in this place. Thus the scribe of codex g (Wilhering 124) adds Wolfarn (Wolfern, Upper Austria) to the

1. The places in Upper Austria precede those of Lower Austria; otherwise the grouping is similar but in reverse order.

list; possibly he was writing at the time of the incidents referred to in mss. Seitenstetten CLXXXVIII and CCLII: "Anno domini M CCC LXXXX combustus est dominus Iohannes vicarius in Wolfarn cum familia sua ab hereticis de nocte. Item anno domini 1394 fuerunt captivati qui combusserunt dotem in Wolfarn volentes combussisse dominum Iacobum pro tunc vicarium cum sua familia sed per dei gratiam evaserunt".¹

Section 6 - Secte hereticorum fuerunt plures quam lxx...
ecclesiam erroribus demoliuntur (chapter v)

This section is contained also in both versions of the A.P. (sections iv in the longer and iii in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. The invocation "Omnis ergo fidelis Christi..." (see below p.25) which follows in the A.P. has been omitted from the Ps-R.² This section, like the two which follow, is aimed specifically against the German sect of Waldensians (or Poor Men of Lyons) of which it is said "non est perniciosior ecclesie dei".

1. From ms. Seitenstetten CCLII. The folios of the ms. are unnumbered; this passage follows an account of the inquisition of Peter the Celestine. Cf. G.E. Friess, Patarener, Begharden, und Waldenser, p.266, where the date of the first episode given as 1393 in ms. Seitenstetten CLXXXVIII has been misread as 1343.
2. It appears, however, in the version given in mss. k and l, a further indication that this was prepared by someone who had access to the A.P.

Section 7 - Nota secta pauperum de Lugduno...proficit
doctrina ipsorum (chapter vi)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section iv). It may have formed part of the original compilation. I have not been able to discover the source of this account of the origin of the sect of Poor Men of Lyons.

Section 8 - De blasphemiiis quibus blasphemant Romanam ecclesiam...
sed propter questum (chapters vii-ix)

This section is contained in both versions of the A.P., where it is headed "Articuli heresum". (section v in the longer and iv in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It is an account of the heresy of the Poor Men of Lyons, or Waldensians, divided into three parts; the first dealing with their abuse of the Roman Church; the second with their errors against the sacraments and the saints; and the third with their detestation of all "honourable and approved" customs of the Church. The location of the heretics described is not specified, but their use of the terms "awegen", "steinhaus" and "zeche" shows that they must have been German speaking. It seems most probable that the passage refers to the Waldensians of south Germany and Austria, who are referred to in section 6.

Section 9 - Runcarii in magna parte...aliquid facerent horum
(chapter x-xiii)

This section is contained also in both versions of the A.P. (section xii in the longer and vi in the shorter). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It

refers to the heretics of Lombardy and Germany. The "Summa fratris Torsonis" mentioned in this section is a shortened version of the Dialogus inter Catholicum et Paterinum, which is discussed further below (p.lxlii).

Section 10 - Ortlibarii dicunt quod mundus non habet principium...
loco spiritus sancti (chapter xiv)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xlii) and, in a shorter form, in the shorter A.P. (section vii). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. Together with the following section it gives the fullest extant account of the sect of Ortlibarii or Ortlibenses. Certain similarities between sections 10 and 11 suggest that both were drawn from a common original.

Section 11 - Ortlibenses errant in multis articulis...ut
ipsi dicunt (chapter xv)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xlii). It is possibly a later addition to the treatise. The use of two names, Ortlibarii and Ortlibenses, so close together, as though describing two distinct sects, indicates that whoever was responsible for the inclusion of this account had no first hand knowledge of these heretics.

Section 12 - Secta Catharorum divisa est in tres partes...
secreta minime revelantur (chapters xvi-xxiii)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xiv). It may have formed part of the original compilation. It consists of the famous Summa de Catharis et Leonistis of

Reinerius Sacchoni, written in 1250, which is given almost in its entirety, with the exception of the short second part dealing with the Poor Men of Lyons.¹ The value of the Summa lies in the first-hand information which it contains; Sacchoni had himself belonged to the Cathar sect in his earlier days but about the year 1245 he had returned to the Catholic faith and entered the Dominican Order.² His treatise on heresy is clear, concise and accurate, and it immediately became one of the most used of all inquisitorial handbooks. The Summa was published for the first time by Martène and Durand in 1717;³ a definitive edition has not so far appeared. In 1939 Father Dondaine published a new edition based on Martène's text with the collation of mss. Archives Générales O.P. II 63 and Vatican lat. 3978.⁴ It seems unlikely that a future collation of all the extant mss. would result in a text differing substantially from that established by Father Dondaine.

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1. The authenticity of this section has been disputed by Gieseler, De Rainerii Sacchoni Summa de Catharismo et Leonistis commentatio critica (see Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen, p. 59, n. 32).
 2. For details of Sacchoni's life see Dondaine, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
 3. Martène and Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, V (Paris, 1717) cols. 1761-76. The Summa is also included in Duplessis D'Argentré's Collection Judiciorum de Novis erroribus, I (Paris, 1724) pp. 48-56.
 4. Dondaine, op. cit., pp. 64-78.

The Summa is so well known from other sources (Father Dondaine lists 17 mss. and adds that his list is certainly incomplete) that its inclusion in the A.P. and Ps-R. would not seem at first to be a matter of great importance. The interest of this inclusion, however, lies in the means which has thus been provided for determining the long disputed relationship between the two treatises.

Section 13 - Paterinus dicit quod minor creator...pro sanctos suos facit (chapter xxiv)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xv). It may have formed part of the original compilation. It is derived from the Dialogus inter Catholicum et Paterinum published by Martène and Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, V (Paris, 1717) cols. 1703-58. Little is known certainly about the date and authorship of this treatise, which is directed against the Italian Cathars; for a time it was attributed to Gregorius of Florence, bishop of Fano, Ancona, 1241-44, but Father Dondaine has recently suggested that it was written by a certain Georgius, a layman, about the year 1250.¹ The "Summa fratris Torsonis", referred to in section 9

1. Dondaine, Le Manuel, p. 179. For the latest contributions to the solution of this problem see: Ilarino da Milano, "Fr. Gregorio O.P. vescovo de Fano", Aevum, XIV (Milan, 1940) 108-10; idem, L'eresia di Ugo Speroni nella confutazione del Maestro Vacario (Studi e Testi, 115; Rome, 1945) 34-36; A. Dondaine, "Nouvelles sources de l'histoire doctrinale du néo-manichéisme au Moyen Age", Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, XXVIII (Paris, 1939) 485-86.

of the Ps-R. as a source of information on the Patarenes,¹
contains a shortened form of this treatise.²

Section 14 - Manichei furta rapinas sacrilegia...ita fame
perimunt (chapter xxv)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xvi) and partially in the shorter A.P.³ It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It is important as containing one of the few descriptions of the Cathar heresy in a German setting. The question of its authenticity, date and location are therefore of great interest; unfortunately, however, its inclusion in the A.P. and Ps-R. does not contribute to a solution of these problems further than suggesting that it relates to a period anterior to 1260.

1. "si perfecte vis cognoscere errores Paterinorum respice summam fratris Torsonis" (see below, p.45).
2. See H. Haupt, "Waldensia", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, X (Gotha, 1889) 314. The identity of Torso is unknown; there is nothing beyond the similarity of name to link him with Conrad Dorso, the inquisitor murdered at Strasburg c. 1233. Torso's Summa exists in several mss. including Vienna 512; it has not been printed to date. It does not contain any material additional to that of the Dialogus.
3. i.e. the passage: Episcopus eorum sic ordinatur...ita fame perimunt; is included, but in the section on the Cathars. The section on the Manichaeans included in the shorter A.P. differs greatly from that in the longer A.P. and Ps-R. (vide Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 295-96, and cf. ms. Saint Gall 974, ibid., 372-73).

Section 15 - Heretici quidam vocantur ex nomine...omnes
delectationes exercent (chapter xxvi)

This section appears also in both versions of the A.P. (section xvii in the longer and x in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It represents a shorter version of the list of known heresies included in the Decretum of Gratian (Causa XXIV, Quest. III, c. XXXIX).¹ Such lists were not uncommon: they derive in the most part from the lists of Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville, and occasionally contain additions relating to contemporary heresies.² The only such contemporary references in this list are to the Runcarii ("quidam ex loco ut Runcarii a villa") and to the mysterious Iosepiste ("Item Iosepiste qui contrahunt matrimonium spirituale et preter coitum omnes delectationes exercent").

1. Friedberg ed., Corpus Iuris Canonici, I (Leipzig, 1879) col. 1001 et seq. This section is preceded in ms. Clm. 2714 (i.e. the shorter A.P.) by the heading: Legitur in decretis capitula xxiiii que ultima.
2. e.g. Ebrardus of Béthune, ed. M. de la Bigne, Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, XXIV (Lyons, 1677) p. 1575; Honorius Augustodunensis, Liber de haeresibus, Migne, P.L., CLXII, cols. 236-40.

The following sections (16-20) very probably make up what was originally a separate treatise on the discovery and treatment of heresy, which may have been included in the original treatise.

Section 16 - Heretici cognoscuntur per mores et verba...est
est non non (chapter xxvii)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xix). A very short version is included in the shorter A.P. (section xii) as follows:

Cognoscuntur heretici quia conveniunt in latibulis
et discunt et docent quod non facit ecclesia; Iohannis:
Ego palam semper docui et in nocte locutus sum nichil.
Item non iurant nec dicunt vere nec certe; non menciuntur.
Amphyboloice locuntur. Mores habent compositos et modestos.
Omnia credunt que in simbolo dicuntur.

Section 17 - Heretici callide student qualiter se ingerant...
in domo discit de secta ipsorum (chapter xxviii)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xx). It contains a description of the ways in which itinerant heretic preachers were able to gain new followers.

Section 18 - Cui papa commiserit inquisitionem...deterius
erit tibi (chapter xxix)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xxi). It contains an account of the procedure to be adopted by inquisitors.

Section 19 - Queratur ab heretico examinando...confitendum
presbiteris vel non (chapter xxx)

This section appears also in both versions of the A.P.

(section xxii in the longer and xv in the shorter recension).¹
It contains a list of questions to be put to those who were suspected of heresy, more particularly the Waldensian heresy.

Section 20 - Cum in publico fit inquisitio...ab ecclesie unitate (chapter xxxi)

This section appears also in the longer A.P. (section xxiii). Like sections 18 and 19 it is concerned with inquisitorial procedure and the questions to be put to a suspected heretic.

Section 21 - Punitur autem iiii^{or} modis...ut xxiii q iiii ipsa pietas (chapter xxxii)

This section appears also in both versions of the A.P. (section xxiv in the longer and xvi in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It is a shorter version of ^{part of} the Summa de casibus of Raymond of Peñafort, composed about 1227-1234 (see above p. liii).² The four methods specified by Raymond for the punishment of a heretic are excommunication, deposition, confiscation of goods and military persecution. In the text as given by the Ps-R. and A.P. the paragraph dealing with confiscation has been omitted, although in the first sentence the number of methods of punishment is given as four.³

1. Cf. the extract from ms. Vienna 1688 published by Dollinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, pp. 617-19.

2. Summa Sti. Raymundi de Peniafort Barcinonensis Ord. Praedicatorum de Poenitentia et Matrimonio... (Rome, 1603) pp. 28-45.

3. The first sentence of this section in the shorter A.P. runs: Punitur hereticus iiii^{or} modis: excommunicacione, deposicione, rerum omni ablacione, militari persecucionem; nevertheless the paragraph on confiscation is not included below.

Section 22 - Excommunicamus et anathematizamus...
decernimus irritum et inane (chapter xxxiii)

This section is contained also in both versions of the A.P. (sections xxv in the longer and xvii in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It comprises Gregory IX's bull against heresy of c. August 20, 1229 (Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (Berlin, 1874) n. 9675). The first paragraph of this bull is published in Friedberg ed., Corpus Iuris Canonici, II (Leipzig, 1881) col. 789, and the remainder in Raynaldus Annales ecclesiastici [1229-1256], ed. G.D. Mansi, XXI (Lucca, 1747) pp. 38-39.

Section 23 - Inter ypocritas qui Sterzer vocantur...quas omnes relinquit (chapter xxxiv)

This section appears also in both versions of the A.P. (section XI). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. The shorter A.P. has an additional passage at the end, as follows:

"Qui dantes opiatam in potu spoliant homines sopitos gravi sompno. Qui per candelam omnes seras reserantes et homines in amenciam convertentes furtam fornicaciones et cetera mala faciunt."

"Sterzer" signifies vagabonds;¹ however some phrases

1. J.L.C. and W.C. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, cite examples of the use of this word from the fourteenth century onwards, the earliest example coming from a charter of 1336 quoted by A.J. Wallraf, Altdeutsches historisch-diplomatisches Wörterbuch (Cologne, [1827]) p.80: "falsi peregrini, qui vulgo vocantur sterzer". Unfortunately Wallraf does not give the source of his quotation.

of this section suggest that the writer had in mind not only wandering bands of beggars but also groups of Flagellants, such as are recorded in Germany and Austria in 1261,¹ or Beguines.²

Section 24 - Quere ab heretico Leonista...poscenti reddere rationem fidei (chapter xxxv)

This section is contained also in both versions of the A.P. text.³ (sections xviii in the longer and xi in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. It comprises a list of questions designed to reveal and confound the followers of the Waldensian heresy.⁴

Section 25 - Nota quod orientalis ecclesia ut Greci in hiis discordant a nobis...in lingua hebrea (chapter xxxv)

This is an account of the differences between the Greek and Roman Churches which forms part of a longer section contained in both versions of the A.P. (section VII). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It is difficult to see why the compiler of the Ps-R. decided to include this account as

1. See below pp. lxxxiii-iv.

2. Cf. H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, pp. 342-43.

3. There are some slight differences in the passage as given in the shorter recension.

4. Cf. also the extract from ms. Vienna 1688 published by Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, pp. 619-20.

it has no relevance to the question of heresy. It is not referred to in the list of contents at the beginning of the Ps-R., and it has no separate chapter heading, but follows immediately after the preceding section.

Section 26 - Conventicula facere et in secreto docere...
heresis est Ioviniani (chapter xxxvi)

This section is a shortened version of the treatise entitled Compilacio de novo spiritu¹ which is contained in the longer A.P. (section x). It is probably an addition to the original compilation. The treatise is also given in full in ms. Mainz I, 331,² where it is ascribed to Albertus Magnus.³

1. 51 sentences only out of the original 97 are given.
2. The variant readings from this ms. are listed by H. Haupt, "Beitrage zur Geschichte der Sekte vom freien Geiste", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, VII (Gotha, 1885) 556-59. I have included the variants noted from my own collation of ms. Mainz I, 331 (referred to as codex E) with the Ps-R. in the footnotes to the text.
3. It is described in the Mainz ms. as "Determinatio magistri Alberti quondam Ratisponensis episcopi... Super articulis invente heresis in Recia dyocesis Augustensis". Albertus was bishop of Regensburg from 1260-1262 and died in 1280; the treatise was probably written therefore some time during the period 1262-80. According to Grundmann the heresy described here and in section xi of the longer A.P. (see p.lxx below) was that current in Swabian Ries c. 1270.. He discusses the matter fully in Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, pp. 402-08, where he suggests that Albertus composed the treatise in an academic fashion, and not from personal knowledge of the Ries inquisition, during his retirement in Cologne.

It has been published by W. Preger from mss. Clm. 311 and 9558 in Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter, I (Leipzig, 1874) 461-69.¹

The contents of the Anonymous of Passau treatise

I have included below some notes on those sections of the Anonymous of Passau treatise (i.e. from parts V - XII only) which are not included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise.

- a) In hoc opusculo primo ponitur error heretici...qui nusquam legitur iurasse

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (sections vi in the longer and v in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It has been published by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Catalogus testium veritatis (Basle, 1556) 735-56. A slightly shorter version of this work contained in ms. Mainz I 199 may represent its original form.² This has been augmented in the A.P. with some examples probably drawn from the personal experience of the compiler of that treatise.³ A strong resemblance exists between this section

1. Also by Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, pp. 395-

2. See above, p. xxxviii (section II, b). 1402, from ms. Clm. 311.

3. As in the following passage, where I have underlined the additional material of the A.P.: "...quidam eucharistiam servant in cameris et in hortis, ut in Bavaria... Item diaconus tota nocte ludens, seu bibens in taberna, mane in camisia celebrant, teste Goth heresiarcha. Item eucharistia vermibus scaturivit juxta Zwetel, testes monachi ibidem"; in the following sentence the A.P. reads bohemus instead of ytalicus: "Item ytalicus sacerdos audit theutonicum et neutrum alterum intelligit".

and section e below (Hee sunt occasiones errorum). A new edition of this work, based on ms. Mainz I 199, is needed to replace the text published by Flacius.

b) Primo dicunt quod quilibet homo...in homine spiritui sancto

This section appears in the longer A.P. (section xi); it is also to be found, following on a version of the shorter A.P., in ms. Vienna 3271, fos. 68v-69r, where it is headed "Hec heresis noviter inventa apud Mordlingen" (i.e. Nördlingen, Swabia). It comprises a list of errors similar in character to those described in chapter xxxvi of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise (i.e. section 26 above). Other recensions of this list are included in mss. Clm. 4386 and 14959 and ms. Strasburg B. 174 (destroyed in 1870). It has been published several times as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| From Clm. 311: | W. Preger, <u>Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter</u> , I (Leipzig, 1874) 469-71. |
| From Clm. 311: | Döllinger, <u>Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte</u> II, pp. 401-02. |
| From Clm. 14959: | Döllinger, <u>op. cit.</u> , pp. 391-93. |
| From Clm. 4386: | Döllinger, <u>op. cit.</u> , pp. 393-94 and W. Wattenbach, "Über die Secte der Bruder vom freien Geiste", <u>Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</u> (Berlin, 1887) 522-23. |
| From Strasburg B.174: | Charles Schmidt, "Actenstücke besonders zur Geschichte der Waldenser", <u>Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie</u> , XXII (Hamburg and Gotha, 1852) 248-50. |

According to Grundmann this list of errors refers to the heresy dealt with in the inquisitions of 1270 and 1273 in Swabian Ries.¹

c) Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie...cum omnibus vobis. Amen

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (sections vii in the longer and xiii in the shorter recension). It is probably an addition to the original compilation. It contains the text of a letter written by the Waldensians of North Italy to their fellow heretics in Germany ("Alemannia"), concerning certain differences of opinion which had been discussed with the French Waldensians at Bergamo. Although this discussion had occurred in 1218 the letter may bear a later date; Preger inclined to the opinion that it was written about 1230. The inclusion of such a letter in an inquisitorial handbook was perhaps the result of some inquisition in which the German or Austrian Waldensians were forced to surrender their records. The letter has been published by Wilhelm Preger, from mss. Clm. 311, 9558 and 2714 in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, pp. 234-41.²

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1. M.G.H. Scriptores, XVII, pp. 194-95. See above p.lxx,n.3.
 2. Also by Dollinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 42-52, from mss. Clm. 311, 2714 and Vienna 3271. K. Müller, Die Waldenser, pp. 22-23 gives some corrections to Preger's text from mss. Clm. 311, 9558 and 2714.

- d) Ewangelium eternum quod noviter est confictum...
non durabunt ammodo per vi annos

This section is contained in the longer (sectionix) but not in the shorter A.P.¹ It is probably an addition to the original compilation. It has been published by Preger, from mss. Clm. 311 and 9558, in "Das 'evangelium aeternum' und Joachim von Floris", Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XII, Abt. 3 (Munich, 1874) 33-36. It contains a list of the errors extracted by the masters of the University of Paris in 1254 from the work known as the "Evangelium eternum", a compilation made by the Spiritual Franciscan Gerard of Borgo San Donnino from the writings of Joachim of Flora. These errors were condemned by the Commission of Anagni in 1255.²

The list has also been published, from different recensions, in:

Henry of Herford, Liber de rebus memorabilioribus ed. Potthast (Göttingen, 1859) 181.³

Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora, VI, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series, LVII; London, 1882) 335-39.

Denifle-Chatelain, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis..., I (Paris, 1889) 272-75.

1. It is contained also in ms. Mainz I 199 (section I, ii). See above, p. xxxviii.
2. A full description of these events is given in H. Denifle, "Das evangelium aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni", Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, I (Berlin, 1885) 49-145.
3. A collation with this version, which closely resembles that of mss. Clm. 311 and 9558, is given by Preger in his edition.
4. A bibliography of the mss. and published editions is given in Francesco Russo, Bibliografia Gioachinita (Biblioteca de Bibliografia Italiana, XXVIII; Florence, 1954) 48-50.

e) Hee sunt occasiones errorum

This section is contained in both versions of the A.P. (sections xxvi in the longer and xviii in the shorter recension). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. It has been published by Preger from ms. Clm. 2714, with a collation from mss. Clm. 311 and 9558, in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter, pp. 242-45. It contains a list of abuses within the church which had occasioned the spread of heresy. Phrases such as "oblaciones que dicuntur Abwegen", "monachi de Zwetel [i.e. Zwettl, Lower Austria]", "ut in Bawaria" suggest that this section refers to the same locality as section 4 of the Ps-R., i.e. the diocese of Passau.

f) De Machometo et de Sarracenorum lege

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (section VI). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. It is an account of the life and religion of Mahommed. As it has not so far been printed a transcript of it is included below (Appendix B, Transcript a).

g) De concordia fidei. Licet fides ecclesie...veteri testamenti et novo

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (section VII). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. It is an account of the similarities and discordances between the faiths of the Catholic, the heretic, the Mahomedan and the Jew. The part of it which deals with the Eastern Church is included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise also (chapter xxxv). The remainder has not so far been printed. A transcript of it is included below (Appendix B, Transcript b).

h) De sectis philosophorum. Philosophi greca appellatione vocantur...et idem retractus implicatur

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (section VIII). It most probably formed part of the original compilation. It comprises the chapter on the philosophers from the Etymologiarum, Liber VIII, of Isidore of Seville.¹

i) De ydolis. Inter ydola gencium...ydolatria aliarum rerum

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (section IX). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. A transcript of it is included below (Appendix B, transcript c).

1. Migne, P.L., LXXXII, cols. 305-08. A collation with this shows no important variants or additions.

- j) De divinacionibus. Divinacionum multe sunt species...
sic spoliant eos rebus

This section appears in both versions of the A.P. (section X). It most probably formed part of the original compilation; the author may have been the anonymous compiler himself. A transcript of it is included below (Appendix B, transcript d). It is especially interesting for the description of a number of Germanic superstitions, presumably of pagan origin.

- k) De corrumpentibus diversa negocio. Fidem catholicam
corrumpunt...in festis diebus operantur

This section appears in the longer A.P. only. It is a list of malpractices, many of which relate to trade, which the author claims are damaging to the Catholic faith. It is not mentioned in the introductory list of chapter headings of the longer A.P. and it seems probable that it is a later addition to the treatise. It has been published by Karl Müller, from mss. Clm. 311 and 9558, in "Betrügereien und Fälschungen im Mittelalter", Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, N.F., II (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1887) 241-42.

1. For further information on the practices mentioned in this section see E. Hoffman - Krayer and H. Bächtold - Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens (Handwörterbuch des deutschen Volkskunde, Abt. I) Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-42, vols. 1-10.

CHAPTER IV - The historical background
of the treatise

Heresy in the diocese of Passau in the thirteenth century¹

The great upsurge of heresy which took place in the second half of the twelfth century in Italy, France, the Rhineland and the Low Countries does not seem to have affected Austria and south-east Germany until a later date. The reason for this may perhaps be found in the economic backwardness of this area for it is clear that heresy flourished most vigorously in towns and localities where trade facilitated the communication of new ideas. The earliest indication of the existence of heresy in the diocese of Passau is recorded from 1207 when Duke Leopold VI petitioned for the creation of a new diocese based on Vienna, one of the reasons for his request being the need to extirpate heresy from this region.² The great size of the diocese of

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1. The most important secondary works on this subject are: G.E. Friess, Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser; H. Haupt, Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland; A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, V, i (Leipzig, 1911) pp. 398-400; E. Tomek, Kirchengeschichte Österreichs, I (Innsbruck, 1935) pp. 191, 214-18.
 2. The matter is explained thus in the letter of pope Innocent III to Manegold, bishop of Passau, 14 April 1208: "Dilectus itaque filius nobilis vir dux Austrie tam per litteras proprias quam nuncium specialem nostris auribus intimavit quod Pataviensis episcopatus parrochialibus a deo limitibus est diffusus quod per unam quantumlibet exercitatum personam absque multarum animarum periculo pastorale circa singulas oves in ipso nequeat officium exerceri...Quod gravius est usque adeo ut asseritur ibi pestis invaluit Heretice pravitatis ut passim in caulas dominicarum ovium lupi rapaces irrumpant dum per virgam pastoris que quanto pluribus est intenta tanto minus specialiter super eis prevalet vigilare truculenta rabies eorumdem ab ipsius sedulitatis officio non arcetur. Unde considerans dictus nobilis messem multam per operarios paucos non posse comode procurari et ideo rogandum dominum eius esse ut mittat operarios in eandem nobis humiliter supplicavit ut necessitate pariter et utilitate pensata in provincia sua que quanto est a tua sede remotior tanto solatio noscitur alterius presulis amplius indigere specialem ordinare pastorem super gregem dominicum dignaremur locum congruentem designatis in quo decenter constitui possit ecclesia cathedralis Wiennam videlicet civitatem...". Monumenta Boica, XXVIII, ii (1829) 275-76.

Passau (it included Upper and Lower Austria as well as a considerable part of present day Bavaria) must certainly have rendered efficient administration difficult; but bishop Manegold had no desire to relinquish part of his territory and the pope was finally persuaded to reject Leopold's petition. That the duke himself took up the task of combating heresy in his dominions at about this time appears from the Klosterneuburg Annals,¹ and from a grimly humorous description of his treatment of heretics by Thomasin of Zirclaria, writing in 1215-1216: the duke, he declares, not wishing the devil to break his teeth, takes care to roast his meat for him.²

The great and terrible persecution of heretics which took place in many parts of Germany in 1230 and 1231 is not recorded from the diocese of Passau, although on 20 June 1231 pope Gregory IX wrote to the archbishop of Salzburg and his suffragan bishops

1. "1210. Pestilens heresis Paterinorum cum plurimos christiani nominis serpendo corrumperet, auctore Deo prodita est, et variis tormentis multi eorum necati sunt". Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis Secunda M.G.H. Scriptores, IX, 621.

2. "Lamparten waere saelden rîche,
hiet si den herrn von Ôsterrîche,
der die ketzer sieden kan.
er vant ein schoene geriht dar an;
er wil niht daz der vâlant
zebreche sîn zende zehant,
swenner si ezze, dâ von heizet er
si sieden unde brâten sêr".
Der wâlsche Gast, ed. H. Rückert (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1852) lines 12683-90.

instructing them that the recent papal decrees against heresy should be made public.¹ The continued existence of heresy in the diocese appears from a letter written by master Ivo of Narbonne in 1242. Ivo admitted that he had associated with Patarene heretics in Lombardy, but claimed that he had since made his way to Vienna where he had re-converted to the Catholic faith many who had fallen into errors similar to those held by his Italian associates.² In 1250 master Leupold, a priest of St. Stephen's, Vienna, was deprived of his office for crimes including that of heresy.³

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1. A. von Meiller, Regesten zur Geschichte der Salzburger Erzbischöfe (Wien, 1866) p. 252, nr. 372.
 2. "...Et sic omnes pertransiens civitates Lombardiae circa Padum, semper inter Paterinos conversans, semper in recessu accepi ab aliis ad alios intersigna. Clemonam [Gemonia] tandem perveniens, oppidum in Foro Julii celeberrimum, nobilissima Paterinorum bibi vina, rabiolas, et ceratia, et alia illecebrosa comedens, deceptores decipiens, Paterinumque me profitens, sed Deo teste, fide, etsi non operis perfectione, Christianus existens... Carinthiam pertransivi solivagus, ac deinde in quodam oppido Austriae, quod Theutonice Neustad [Wiener Neustadt] dicitur, id est, nova civitas, inter quosdam novos religiosos, qui Beguini vocantur, hospitabar. Et in proxima civitate Vienna locisque circumjacentibus aliquot annis delitui; opera confundens, heu, heu, bona et mala; vivens enim, diabolo instigante, satis incontinentem animae meae noxius adversabar; multos veruntamen ab errore revocans memorato...". Ivo of Narbonne to Giraldus, archbishop of Bordeaux in Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, IV, ed. H.R. Luard (London, Rolls series, 57) 271-72.
 3. Conrad of Speyer, papal legate, to the chief officials of Vienna 19 April 1250. Monumenta Boica, XXIX, ii (1831) 370-72. Cf. Auctarium Vindobonense (under the year 1252) M.G.H. Scriptores, IX, 724. Master Leupold is also referred to in the "Institutions" of bishop Otto of Passau (circa 1259): "Statuimus, ut quicumque magistri Leupoldi, quondam plebani Wiennensis convicti et condemnati de heresi litteras perceperit vel alias quomodo libet ipsum promoverit, sit ipso facto excommunicationis sententia innodatus". Ulrich Schmid, Otto von Lonsdorf, Bischof zu Passau, 1254-1265 (Würzburg, 1903) Appendix A. The nature of Leupold's heresy does not appear; it is possible that the affair was of a political nature since he was a nominee of Duke Frederick, whose death occurred in 1246 (cf. Hauck, op.cit., p.398).

It is interesting to note that these references to heresy concern the eastern part of the diocese, in the vicinity of Vienna, rather than the western half about Passau itself.

The nature of the heresy involved cannot be determined with any certainty. The term Patarene, used by the Klosterneuberg annalist and by Ivo of Narbonne, was often applied to Cathar heretics especially in Italy; but like all terms used to describe heretics at this time it had a more vague and general sense. In this case it may have implied no more than that the Austrian heretics had been influenced by heretical doctrines coming from Italy, brought, perhaps, along the same route as that travelled by master Ivo.¹

The middle years of the thirteenth century were a time of great unrest in Austria,² during which the growth of heresy was stimulated by the existence of a corrupt and ignorant clergy³ and

1. It is true that Ivo is known to have associated particularly with Cathar heretics since he refers to the fact that one of their bishops, Petrus Gallus, had become suspicious of his good faith - the reason for his flight into Austria.
2. "Occiso itaque Friderico potentissimo et inquieto duce Austrie et Styrie [1246], quanta mala fere per sex annos utroque provincia sit perpessa, nullus valet scribere vel narrare. Nam quilibet nobilium, immo magis ignobilium, nec Deum nec homines reveritus, quecumque volebat faciebat, homines, ad munitiones vel cavernas terre fugere non valentes, captivando, vulnerando, occidendo ac excogitatis et actenus inauditis tormentis miserabiliter cruciando." Hermannus Altahensis, Annales, M.G.H. Scriptores, XVII, 393.
3. The condition of many of the clergy is described in the section of the Anonymous of Passau treatise entitled "De occasionibus errorum" (see above, p.lxxv). Since this was written by a defender of the Roman Church, perhaps by the Anonymous himself, there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

the absence of firm measures of repression. In 1259 bishop Otto of Passau made a visitation of the Austrian part of his diocese and on his return issued a number of "Institutions" for reform; included amongst these was an injunction that since some parts of the diocese were notoriously infected with heresy every parish priest should report any heretics known to him to the bishop or archdeacon on pain of privation of his benefice and office.¹ The extent of the danger from heresy was revealed, some time later, when the parish priest of Nöchling (Lower Austria) and his assistant, and the parish priest of Kematen (Upper Austria) were murdered by vengeful heretics.² In 1261 the diocese was visited by bands of wandering penitents from Italy, who believed that by scourging their naked bodies they could redeem the sins of the world. Although these were not looked upon as heretics the uncontrollable ecstatic nature of their movement constituted a danger to established clerical authority. As they made their way through Austria and Germany their example persuaded some on-lookers to join their ranks, while few who watched could have failed to receive a profound impression from the sight of their

1. "...cum quaedam partes dioecesis pataviensis sint de habitatione hereticorum infamate, volumus et districte mandamus, ut quantumcunque plebanus in sua vel sibi conterminata parochia esse intellexerit ipsos, quantocius poterit teneatur episcopo et archidiacono denunciari, alioquin beneficio et officio se privandum sentiant...". Ulrich Schmid, Otto von Lonsdorf, Bischof zu Passau, 1254-1265 (Würzburg, 1903) Appendix A.

2. See below, pp. 20, 169.

self-imposed agony.¹

The amount of inquisitorial activity taking place at this time is difficult to determine. The Anonymous of Passau states that he had frequently taken part in the examination of heretics, and he refers to the burning of a certain Heinrich, a glovemaker of Tewen (Devin) in the extreme east of the diocese, who had continued his defiance of the Church to the stake itself.² According to the Anonymous the heretics, whom he calls "Leoniste" (i.e. Waldensians), were exceedingly zealous for their faith. Both men and women were accustomed to learn the scriptures by

1. Reference to this phenomenon is made in many of the chronicles of the time; the following entries are typical: "1260. Hoc anno ritus quidam de fonte rationis non trahens originem, in Valle Spoletana pullulans, in diversas mundi partes sub religionis specie serpere cepit, ut tam divites quam pauperes, senes cum iunioribus, usque ad femora toto nudati corpore, se ipsos flagellis cruentates, et cantus ad suum libitum pro numero plagarum compositos decantantes, catervatim et processionaliter ecclesias clamoribus replerent; feminis eundem ritum exercentibus in secreto. Sed tandem utpote superstitio vere religioni contraria, talis ritus per mucronem ecclesiasticum est resecatus". Annales Mellicenses, M.G.H. Scriptores, IX, 509; "1260...Quedam secta vel religio ignota surrexit in Lombardia, ita quod homines nudi incesserunt in ecclesiis, habentes capita velata lineis capitiis et circa femoralia operti lineis pannis, et semper se flagellis flagellabant, asserentes eam a quodam ceco incluso surrexisse; cui maxima multitudo hominum tam Latinorum quam Teutonicorum adhesit". Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses, M.G.H. Scriptores, IX, 795; "MCCLXVII [sic]...Hoc anno fuit publica poenitentia, quae orta est in Sicilia, & transit Longobardiam, Karinthiam, Carniolam, Stiriam, Austriam, Bohemiam, Moraviam, cum flagellationibus & canticis poenitentialibus...Quod videntes multi compuncti sunt, & flebant; ponebant se etiam prostrati toto corpore ad terram nudi vel in nivem, vel in lutum; in hac poenitentia comparuit quisque 33 diebus, bis in die, mane & vespere". Anonymi Leobiensis Chronicon, ed. Pez, Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum, II (Leipzig, 1723) col. 829.
2. See below, pp. 15-23 for the Anonymous's account of the heretics of the diocese of Passau.

heart and to teach their doctrines to others at every available opportunity; one heretic had swum across the river Ibbs in the height of winter in order to continue the work of conversion. The zeal of the heretics for the propagation of their beliefs was matched by their hatred of the orthodox clergy, whose material possessions they intended to confiscate as soon as they were in a position to do so. Their strength was not yet sufficient for open defiance, however, and they were forced to meet in secret and to conceal their doctrines, which they sometimes achieved by using words in a special sense not understood by those outside the sect.¹

As a result of an inquisition held in 1266 heretics were discovered in 42 parishes in the Austrian part of the diocese, but no action was taken against them since the local priests were too slothful and timid to enforce repressive measures.² It may be supposed that the murders at Nöchling and Kematen had not encouraged their zeal. Little is known concerning the organisation of these heretics. They were recorded as having "schools" in the parishes of Lengenfeld, Stratzing, Anzbach, Ollersbach, Sankt Peter in der Au, Steyer, Sierning, Kematen, Neuhofen, Enns and Attergau in Kammer. These "schools" were probably heretical counterparts of orthodox congregations, visited by wandering ministers of the

1. Since they were not usually conversant with Latin they made use of vernacular translations; the Anonymous delights in recording some foolish errors in these.

2. "Hec autem hereticorum inquisicio non fuit ad effectum producta...nec de hiis omnibus nullum fuit iudicium ex prelatorum desidia nimium detestabili postulatum". See below, p. 169.

sect who preached and administered ritual to their flock. The existence of a heretic bishop was recorded at Anzbach, not far from Vienna; perhaps he may be identified with the heretic Newmaister burnt in 1315 at Himberg, also in the vicinity of Vienna, who claimed to have been a bishop of the sect for 50 years.¹

There is no evidence to suggest that any effective measures for repressing heresy were undertaken up to the end of the thirteenth century, although in 1284 a diocesan synod held at St. Pölten reiterated an ancient ordinance that anyone with knowledge of heretical activity must report it at stated times in the year.² The appointment of inquisitors by bishop Bernhard of Passau (1285-1313) testified to a more determined effort to rid the diocese of heresy.³ In 1311 their activities are recorded from Steyer, previously noted as an heretical centre in 1266. As a result of the inquisition there a number of heretics were either burnt, condemned to lifelong imprisonment, or made to do penance

1. See below, pp. 164-65, 176.

2. Hieronymus Pez, Scriptores rerum Austriacarum, II (Leipzig, 1725) col. 525.

3. "...sane voce lugubri et corde recensem amaro, quod sicut frequens insinuatio et clamosa ad nostram detulit audientiam antiqui hostis versutia lumen fidei in cordibus multorum extinguens et varios disseminans errores iam in diversis nostre dyocesis partibus fecit hereticam pululare pravitatem, cuius pestis nisi velociter occurramus primordiis ad irrecuperabilis corruptionis infectionem subito prosiliret...Quocirca vobis et unicuique vestrum in solidum in tota nostra dyocesi inquisitionis heretice pravitatis officium committimus, delegantes vobis gratialiter in hoc negotio vices nostras...". Letter of Bernhard, bishop of Passau, printed in Joseph Chmel, "Das Formelbuch K. Albrechts I", Archiv für Kunde Österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen, II (Vienna, 1849) 248-50. Neither the date nor the names of the addressees are given; the letter must have been written however before the death of Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg on June 29 1312 since he is referred to in it.

by wearing a cross; some made their escape by flight.¹ In 1315 sixteen heretics were burnt at St. Pölten, eleven at Krems and two in Vienna.² The inquisition which led to these executions was carried out at Krems by Ortolfus Muerringarius, dean of Krems, and Gundakchrus, a canon of Passau, with the co-operation of the Dominicans.³ According to an account of the proceedings⁴ the condemned heretics rejected all the sacraments and statutes of the Roman Church, believed that the taking of an oath was a crime, ridiculed the supposed virginity of Christ's mother, held that confession could be heard by any layman, at any time or place, and maintained that the sacramental power of their own wandering "apostles" (twelve in number) was received directly from Elijah and Enoch. They regarded the orthodox clergy, whom they declared to be "deceivers of good people", with a fierce hatred. Their numerical strength seems to have been considerable. According to one of the heretics burnt at St. Pölten there were 36 well-known places between that town and Traiskirchen, to the south of Vienna,

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1. Valentin Prevenhuber, Annales Styrenses (Nuremberg, 1740) 47. Prevenhuber used sources such as the Annales Garstenses which are no longer extant.
 2. The heretic bishop Newmaister burnt at Himberg was probably reckoned in this estimate amongst those burnt in Vienna. The number of heretics burnt in Vienna has hitherto been described in secondary works as 102, in accordance with Pez's transcription of ms. St. Florian XI, 328 (see below, p. 172) "in Vienna due acc...; [interpreted as due ac c;] et qui evaserunt infinitus erat numerus". The ms. actually reads "due; accusatores [possibly a copyist's error for "accusati"] et qui evaserunt infinitus erat numerus".
 3. Franciscan representatives were present at the first hearing only (see below, p. 169).
 4. See Appendix A.

in which the heretics dwelt. The claim of the heretic bishop Newmaister that more than 80,000 of his co-believers existed in Austria alone is undoubtedly exaggerated; but that the inquisitors were content to record it suggests that they were well aware that heresy had gained a firm hold in this area.

Like the heretics discovered in 1266 the heretics condemned at Krems held beliefs which were generally in accordance with Waldensian doctrine. It was alleged, however, that they had also confessed to the worship of Lucifer, who according to their belief would finally vanquish his opponent Michael and reign supreme. The existence of Lucifer worship in Germany during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is attested from several sources and cannot altogether be explained away as inquisitorial fantasy.¹ That it should have spread to the diocese of Passau is not particularly surprising, and the suggestion which has sometimes been made that it implies the existence of Cathar influence there fails to take into account the lack of any dualist characteristics in the beliefs ascribed to the

1. The question of Lucifer worship in Germany has not so far received a thorough treatment. It is recorded at Trèves as early as 1231 (Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV, M.G.H. Scriptores, XXIV, 401); and a full account of practices similar to those attributed to the Trèves heretics is given in a letter from pope Gregory IX to Conrad of Marburg and others, June, 1233 (M.G.H. Epistolae Saeculi XIII, I, 432-34).

Luciferians at Krems or elsewhere.¹

Although the evidence which has just been reviewed is fragmentary and lacking in coherence it serves to suggest that a considerable number of the inhabitants of the diocese of Passau were converted to heretical beliefs during the course of the thirteenth century. As far as it is possible to judge these beliefs were generally of a Waldensian character, having been brought, perhaps, by wandering preachers of that sect from the great heretical centres of Lombardy.² The successful dissemination of heresy amongst the peasants and townspeople was facilitated by a widespread dissatisfaction with the corrupt and irreligious life of many of the orthodox clergy, together with a strong resentment against the enforced payment of ecclesiastical dues. The introduction of long delayed repressive measures by the Church at the beginning of the fourteenth century provided the first real setback to the hope of the heretics and their leaders that they might one day constitute a powerful force.

1. Haupt argues strongly in favour of considering the Austrian heretics of the early fourteenth century as Waldensians (Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland, I, pp. 322 ff.). His thesis is disputed vigorously (but not, I think, convincingly) by R. Holinka, who holds that the Krems heretics were late representatives of a mixed pagan-Cathar tradition (Sektářství v Čechách před revolucí husitskou (Bratislava, 1929) 50-57). With regard to the connection between the Cathar heresy and Luciferianism it is of course true that the belief that Lucifer will be saved is not inconsistent with the doctrine of "mitigated dualism", and may indeed have been influenced by it. But there is no reason to suppose that this mingling of beliefs, if it occurred at all, took place in the diocese of Passau, where there is no reference to Lucifer worship earlier than 1315.

2. See below, p. xciii.

The heresies described in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise¹

Waldensians or Poor Men of Lyons

To the Anonymous of Passau the most pernicious and widespread of all the sects with which he was acquainted was that of the Poor Men of Lyons or Waldensians.² The founder of this sect, a certain layman by the name of Valdes, had begun to preach apostolic poverty in Lyons about the year 1173. At first neither he nor his followers were regarded as heretics, but Valdes's insistence on popular preaching and the use of vernacular translations of the scriptures soon led him into conflict with authority. In 1179 pope Lucius III forbade him to continue preaching and in 1181 his followers were driven from Lyons by archbishop Bellesmains. At the council of Verona in 1184 the

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1. A full account of these heresies is not possible within the scope of this edition of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise; the following notes are merely intended to give some idea of their nature and their diffusion in south Germany and Austria.
 2. The terms are interchangeable. The most reliable general studies of the Waldensian movement in the middle ages are still those of Karl Müller, Die Waldenser and Emilio Comba, Histoire des Vaudois (revised edition, Paris, 1901). A massive bibliography of Waldensianism has been compiled by A.A. Hugon and G. Gonnet, Bibliografia valdese (Torre Pellice, 1953) but so far no history of the movement based on the most recent researches has appeared. Of particular interest for the study of Waldensianism in the German-speaking lands are the articles by W. Preger: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter and Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern. An important contribution to the study of the origins of Waldensianism is made in the article by A. Dondaine, "Aux origines du Valdésisme", Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, XVI (Rome, 1946) 191-235.

teachings of Valdes were formally condemned.

Like other heretics of this period Valdes's followers believed that salvation could be achieved only by means of an "apostolic" way of life, based on voluntary poverty. Such austere virtue was held to be particularly important in the case of those who possessed the power of conferring the divine essence through the sacraments. What began as reforming zeal, however, ended in forcing the Waldensians into a separate existence outside the Church. Though some of the more moderate reformers, such as Durandus of Huesca, were able later to satisfy their desire for the "apostolic" life within the newly founded mendicant orders,¹ others were already too far removed from the Roman obedience to accept this solution. Valdes and his followers came to be regarded as heretics not because of any fundamental difference of opinion on Christian doctrine, but because they refused to allow the Church the last word on the question of how far this doctrine should be applied to practical affairs.

Once condemned as a heresy the Waldensian doctrine rapidly developed a characteristic form. The belief that the Roman Church had forfeited its sacramental power at the time of pope Sylvester I, when it had accepted an alliance with the temporal power, led to a complete rejection of the claims of the Catholic hierarchy. In place of the Church's teachings the Waldensians

1. This aspect of Waldensianism is brilliantly treated by H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, pp.100-27.

found their chief guide to morality and religious practices in the Bible, more particularly in the New Testament. Any custom which did not find its sanction there was considered to be the invention of man and not worthy of observance; from Biblical precept also was derived the Waldensian doctrine that lying, killing and the swearing of oaths were mortal sins. The ritual of the sect was confined to a form of Eucharistic observance, Baptism and practice of Confession; the Catholic sacraments were considered to be without validity.

The movement led by Valdes grew rapidly by absorbing dissident groups already influenced by earlier heresies and reform movements. This was particularly true in Italy, where Waldensianism seems to have taken hold very soon after its inception. In Lombardy, where a strong anti-clerical tradition provided a favourable climate for the new movement, the breach with the Church was even more complete than in France. In a short time the Italian Waldensians formed a separate group, linked with their French co-believers, but dissenting from them on a number of points. In 1218 a conference was held at Bergamo in order to resolve certain differences which had arisen on questions of administration and doctrine. The most important of these appear to have concerned the Lombard doctrine that the efficacy of the sacrament of the Eucharist depended upon the worthiness of the minister; the French not only rejected this but also maintained that it was possible to receive the sacrament from an orthodox priest.

In spite of the effort made at Bergamo to achieve unity the

French and Italian groups continued to develop their own doctrines and practices. From the beginning the affiliation of the Austrian and south German Waldensians was with the Lombard group rather than with the French. That the Lombards pursued missionary activity across the Alps is very probable; it is certainly well attested that dues were regularly sent by the German heretics to their leaders in Milan. Most of what is known about these Waldensian heretics of south Germany and Austria is derived from the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, where their doctrines are described in detail.¹ It appears quite clearly from this source and from others that none of the heretical doctrines propagated in the German-speaking lands during the thirteenth century attracted a larger following or caused such grave alarm to the Church authorities as did the Waldensian heresy.

Runcarii, Sifridenses

The Runcarii seem to have constituted a separate group of Waldensians led by a certain Johannes de Ronco.² Very little is known of their history apart from the fact that they possessed a considerable following in Germany during the thirteenth century,

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1. The chapters of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise which refer to Waldensian heresy are iii-ix, xxvii, xxx, xxxv. The sections of the Anonymous of Passau treatise (not included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise) which deal with Waldensianism are "In hoc opusculo primo ponitur error heretici" and "Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie" (see above, pp. lxxi, lxxiii).
 2. Cf. Ilarino da Milano, "Il 'Liber supra Stella'" Aevum, XVII (Rome, 1943) 99-100.

but they seem to have followed a radical form of Waldensianism, holding many views in common with the Cathars.¹ The single extant reference to the Sifridenses occurs in the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, where they are said to have agreed with the Waldensians in all things except that they received the sacrament of the Eucharist.² As it is known that controversy over the reception of the Eucharist from orthodox priests was one of the major causes of dissension between the Italian and French Waldensians³ it is possible that the Runcarii and Sifridenses represented the two opposing factions of the Waldensian movement within Germany, the Runcarii being linked with the Waldensians of Lombardy, and like them completely opposed to the Roman Church, while the Sifridenses adhered to the beliefs and practices of the less radical French.

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1. "Runcarii in magna parte concordant cum Paterinis...". See below, p.44 . The following account of the Runcarii is given in ms. Clm. 7714 (published by Dollinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 300-01): "Secte hereticorum ad minus sunt LXXII, quorum in Theutonia sunt quatuor, Waldenses, Ortlibarii, Runcarii, Manichaei...Idem [i.e. as the Waldensians] Runcarii dicunt per omnia, excepto quod malus sacerdos non potest conficere. Similiter dicunt quod baptismus sacerdotis existentis in mortali peccato non valet, etiam si baptizet pueros, omnes tunc eosdem iterum a sacerdotibus ipsorum, sc. haereticorum rebaptizari debere, si volunt salvari. Similiter quod sacerdotes ipsorum possunt conficere ex omni vase, sive luteo, ligneo, argenteo, aureo, super scutella sive cypho. Item dicunt quod decimae, oblationes et eleemosynae solummodo debent dari pauperibus, et si dant sacerdotibus dant simulate. Item instituta ecclesiae damnant, sc. jejunium quadragesimae, nec debere ab escis abstineri sed a vitiis; unde in quadragesima carnem comedunt. Item dicunt orandum in ecclesia tantum quantum in stabulo. Solemnitates et cantus ecclesiae et reliquias sanctorum et peregrinationes damnant!"
 2. "Item Sifridenses concordant cum Valdensibus fere in omnibus, nisi quod recipiunt sacramentum eukaristie." (See below, p.45). The name of the sect is presumably derived from a leader called Siegfried.

3. Cf. Die Waldenser, pp. 42-45.

Ortlibarii, heresy of the "New Spirit" ¹

Very little is known certainly about the history of the Ortliebarii or Ortlibenses, beyond the fact that they constituted one of the chief sects of heretics present in Germany during the thirteenth century.² Their founder was possibly a certain Ortlieb of Strasburg, said to have been condemned by Innocent III, who held that men should follow the dictates of the spirit within them.³ The only extant account of their doctrines is included in the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise.⁴ The greater part of this

1. The most important secondary contributions to our knowledge of the Ortliebarii and the heretics of the "New Spirit" in the thirteenth century are: W. Preger, Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter, I (Leipzig, 1874) 191-96, 207-16; H. Haupt, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sekte vom freien Geiste und des Begharentums", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, VII (Gotha, 1885) 503-76; Idem, "Die Sekte der Ortlieber" in "Waldensia", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, X (Gotha, 1889) 316-28; Idem, article "Brüder des freien Geistes" in Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, III (Leipzig, 1897) 467-72; H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, pp. 355-438. The attempts by C. Schmidt, "Ueber die Secten zu Strassburg im Mittelalter", Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, X, iii (Leipzig, 1840) 31-73 and T.W. Röhrich, "Die Gottesfreunde und die Winkeler am Oberrhein", ibid., i, pp. 118-61 ^{to trace a link between the Ortliebarii and the Brethren of the Free Spirit in the Strasburg area} are insufficiently critical of the evidence.
2. "Secte hereticorum fuerunt plusquam lxx que omnes per die gratiam delete sunt preter...sectas Ortlibariorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum que Alemanniam infecerunt". See below, p. 24.
3. "Dicere hominem debere abstinere ab exterioribus et sequi responsa spiritus intra se heresis est cuiusdam Ortleui qui fuit de Argentina quem Innocentius tertius condemnauit". See below, p. 154.
4. See below, pp. 46-56.

account is taken up with beliefs, such as the denial of the physical suffering of Christ and the rejection of the Catholic sacraments, which could well be ascribed to any of the major heresies of the time. The assertion that the world is eternal and not the result of creation is perhaps the most unusual of their tenets.

It has frequently been suggested that the beliefs of Ortlieb and his followers were derived from the pantheistic doctrines of Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant, but there is no direct evidence of this.¹ The supposed antinomian character of the Ortliebarii, as exemplified by Ortlieb of Strasburg, has also caused them to be regarded as forerunners of the heretics of the "New Spirit", who were present in Swabian Ries during the second half of the thirteenth century. Further evidence would be needed to substantiate this claim, especially in the light of the absence of any mention of antinomian doctrines in the description of the Ortliebarii included in the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise.

There seems little doubt that the heresy of the "New Spirit" was the product of the same enthusiastic fervour which inspired the Beguines and Beghards.² Once again the only

1. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, p. 422, argues strongly against the earlier hypothesis of a pantheistic sect which originated with the Amalricians in Paris in 1210, manifested itself shortly afterwards amongst the Ortliebarii, and later developed into the Brethren of the Free Spirit.
2. "Die Ketzerei im Ries aus der Einwirkung herumziehender viri religiosi auf die Kreise religiöser Frauen entstanden ist". Grundmann, op.cit. p. 423.

extant accounts of this heresy have been preserved in the Anonymous of Passau treatise.¹ From these it is clear that its fundamental doctrine was the perfectibility of human beings through a mystical union with the Godhead. Although the heretics of the "New Spirit" were not overtly anti-sacerdotal in the manner of the Cathars and Waldensians they were equally unacceptable to the Church since their concept of the nature of the divine essence excluded the need for any intermediary between man and God. The heresy of the "New Spirit" is not known to have existed elsewhere than in Swabian Ries, and, according to Albert the Great, in Cologne.² Its subsequent history is obscure, but it is reasonable to suppose that it represented an early manifestation of the heresy of the Brethren of the Free Spirit which became widespread during the fourteenth century.³

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1. It is true that they have also been preserved in other mss. whose relationship with the Anonymous of Passau treatise is so far uncertain (see above, p. xxxvii^{1st ed.}). A shortened form of the longer of the two accounts is included in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise.
 2. Cf. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter, p. 433.
 3. On this subject H. Grundmann, one of the greatest living authorities, has recently remarked: "Die Geschichte dieser Ketzerei des 'freien Geistes' ist trotz mancher nützlicher Vorarbeiten noch nicht in Zusammenhang geschrieben...in unserer Kenntnis der religiösen Bewegungen und Häresien des Mittelalters ist es noch die empfindlichste Lücke" ("La mistica tedesca nei suoi riflessi popolari: il Beghinismo", Comitato internazionale di Scienze Storiche. X Congresso internazionale di Scienze Roma 4-11 Settembre 1955. Relazioni, III, Storia del medioevo, p. 482.).

Cathari, Paterini, Manichei

The dualist heretics known in the middle ages as Cathars, Patarenes and Manichaeans¹ flourished mainly in northern Italy and southern France. In both these areas they were able to establish their own hierarchy and to attract large numbers of believers and sympathisers; in the south of France they were even successful in enlisting the support of the local nobility. Their heresy was characterised by a belief in two principles, Good and Evil, the former being the creator of the eternal spiritual universe and the latter of this world and of all material and transitory things. In their attitude towards the Roman Church and their moral precepts, however, the Cathars are not easily distinguishable from the Waldensians.

The extent of the penetration of this heresy into the German-speaking lands is difficult to determine. A community

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1. These are a selection only of the names used to describe them. The term Cathar, applied by Eckbert of Schönau to the Rhineland heretics of the 1160's, was used generally to describe followers of the dualist heresy during the thirteenth century; the name Patarene was commonly used in northern Italy; the term Manichaean was derived from the works of St. Augustine. An immense literature on the subject of the Cathar heresy has arisen since the publication of C. Schmidt's Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois (Paris, 1849). Notable works of synthesis are J. Guiraud, Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age (Paris, 1935-38) and A. Borst, Die Katharer (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 12; Stuttgart, 1953). The most important recent research has been by Father Dondaine; vide his Un traité néo-manichéen and the article "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie", Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, XIX (Rome, 1949) 280-312; XX (1950) 234-324.

of Cathars was certainly present in the Rhineland as early as the 1160's, but there is no record of their survival there into the thirteenth century. There is very little evidence for the existence of the Cathar heresy in other parts of Germany.¹ The section of the longer Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise which deals with the Cathars comprises a version of Reinerius Sacconi's account of the Italian Cathars and offers no information on the existence of similar heretics in Germany. The section on the "Manichaeans", however, contains an account of a ceremony very similar to the Cathar "Consolamentum", in which the words spoken by the worshipper and by the officiating minister are given in German. There is also mention of assisted suicide somewhat in the manner of the "Endura".² It is possible therefore that this account was written by someone who had witnessed Cathar ceremonies in a German-speaking area.³ No particular locality is mentioned but the most probable setting is the Rhineland,⁴ where some traces of the Cathar heresy may well have lingered on into the thirteenth century.

1. I have dealt fully with this question in my earlier thesis, "Neo-Manichaean heresy in Germany and the Low Countries during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (M.A. London, 1955).

2. See below, pp. 104-05.

3. It should be remembered however that the Waldensians are known in some cases to have performed a ceremony similar to the Cathar "consolamentum". Cf. J. Guiraud, Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age, I (Paris, 1935) 246.

4. Some slight confirmation of this occurs in ms. Sankt Gall 974 (published by Dollinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 369-73) where the account of Cathar ceremonies referred to above is found in association with a confession said to have been made by a certain Lepzet in Cologne ("Error Katerorum de alta vita quem prodidit Lepzet hereticus in facie burgensium et populi Colon.").

The value of the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise as a source for the history of heresy

The value of the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise as a source for the history of thirteenth century heresy is severely limited by the fact that it is for the most part a compilation of texts which can rarely be assigned to a specific author, locality or date. Its real importance, however, can only be assessed in the light of the paucity of other records. Information on the heretics of Italy and France is readily obtainable from polemical treatises, inquisitorial acts, and even from works by the heretics themselves. In the German-speaking countries this is not the case. Apart from the Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise the only major sources of information on the sects of heretics present in Germany and Austria during the thirteenth century are the treatise "De inquisitione hereticorum" ascribed to David of Augsburg¹ and the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg,² The former of these should be used with

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1. Ed. W. Preger, Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XIV (Munich, 1879) 181-235.
 2. Ed. F. Pfeiffer and J. Strobl (Vienna, 1862-80). An important study of Berthold's work against heresy is A.E. Schoenbach's "Das Wirken Bertholds von Regensburg gegen die Ketzer", Studien zur Geschichte der altdutschen Predigt, III, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 147,v (Vienna, 1904).

caution for it is still uncertain whether it is in fact an inquisitorial manual of French origin, adapted later for use in Germany.¹ The sermons of Berthold of Regensburg contain a number of interesting references to the heretics whom he had encountered in the course of his extensive travels in Germany and Austria during the middle years of the thirteenth century, but these are of a general character only. The Anonymous of Passau/Pseudo-Reinerius treatise is thus almost the sole source for our knowledge of the development of heretical movements in the German-speaking lands during the thirteenth century. It must be remembered, however, that the information which it contains can be used with advantage only if it is treated with caution and with due appreciation of the nature of the treatise. If this new edition proves to have made this task any easier it will have served its purpose.

1. Cf. A. Dondaine, Le Manuel, pp. 180-83. Dondaine suggests that the treatise known as "De pauperibus de Lugduno", published by Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II, 92-97, may also be the work of a German author, writing at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

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List of abbreviations used

Migne, P.L.: Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina

M.G.H. Scriptores: Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores

Tabulae codicum: Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Vienna, 1864-1912)

Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, II: Ignaz von Döllinger, ed., Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters, II, Dokumente (Munich, 1890)

Le Manuel: Antoine Dondaine, "Le Manuel de l'Inquisiteur (1230-1330)", Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, XVII (Rome, 1947) 85-194

Un traité néo-manichéen: Antoine Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle. Le Liber de duobus principiis (Rome, 1939)

Paterener, Begharden und Waldenser: G.E. Friess, "Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters", Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie, XI (Vienna, 1872) 209-72

Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Herbert Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung um 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik (Historische Studien, 267; Berlin, 1935)

Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland: Herman Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts" Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, I (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1889) 285-330; III (1890) 337-411

Die Waldenser: Karl Müller, Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts (Gotha, 1886)

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter:

Wilhelm Preger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter", Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XIII (Munich, 1877) 179-250

Ueber das Verhältniß der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern:

Wilhelm Preger, "Ueber das Verhältniß der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des 14. Jahrhunderts", Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XVIII (Munich, 1889) 1-111

Xenia Bernardina : Xenia Bernardina ... pars secunda .
Die Handschriften- Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser - Stifte,
I, II (Vienna, 1891)

T E X T

Key to mss.

a...Vienna 812

b...Klosterneuburg 306

c...Vienna 517

d...Lilienfeld 144

e...Zwettl 311

f...Schlägl 118 Cpl 81

g...Wilhering 124

h...Vyšší Brod 123

i...Danzig Mar. F 135

j...Danzig 1964

k...Vatican 677

l...Berlin 704

m...Maria Saal 16

n...Vienna 4213

p...Vienna 512

q...Vienna 1664

r...Klosterneuburg 933

s...Klosterneuburg 265

t...Munich 1846

u...Munich 4144

w...Munich 14637

x...Göttweig 445

y...Prague C 116

aa...Uppsala C 220

bb...Altenburg AB 13 B8

cc...Kremsmünster 317

dd...Trier 1925

ee...Brno Mk 60

A...Erfurt 149

B...Munich 311

E...Mainz I 199

[Introduction and chapter-headings as given in
36 chapter version]

Incipit¹ tractatus de erroribus hereticorum²

"Audistis quia antichristus venit, nunc autem multi
antichristi facti³ sunt unde scimus quia hora novissima
est: ^a i⁴ Johannis ii ibi⁵ dicit glosa; "Antichristi sunt
omnes heretici et qui fidem quam confitentur destruunt
actibus⁶ et omnes Christo contrarii. ^b Et quia iam heu multi sunt⁷
heretici idcirco ad laudem dei et cautelam fidelium⁸ presens
opusculum de hereticis comportavi. Distinguitur autem
ipsum opusculum in xxxvi⁹ capitula:

De commendatione fidei Christiane ¹⁰	i ¹¹
Quid sit hereticus	ii
De causis heresum	iii
De ecclesiis quas heretici infecerunt	iiii

1. om. a.
2. heading om. b.
3. om. b.
4. om. b.
5. om. b; ubi: y.
6. negant add. y.
7. om. b.
8. ego frater Reinherus quondam heresiarcha nunc gracia
dei sacerdos in ordine predicatorum add. y.
9. xxxiii: b.
10. et primo de commendacione fidei: y.
11. this and following chapter nos. om. y.

a. I Joh. 2, 18.

b. Glossa ordinaria. (Migne, P.L., 114, col. 697).

De sectis hereticorum	v
De ortu pauperum de Lugduno	vi
Quod Leoniste et Runkarii blasphemant Romanam ecclesiam et eius sancta statuta et omnem clerum	vii
Quod Leoniste et Runkarii omnia sacramenta ecclesie dampnant	viii
Quod omnes honestas et ¹ approbatas consuetudines ecclesie ² dampnant	ix
De Runkariis	x
De Sifridensibus	xi
De Ortlibensibus	xii
De Paterinis	xiii
De Ortlibariis	xiv
De Ortlivensibus	xv
De Catharis et eorum communibus opinionibus	xvi ³
De sacramentis Catharorum	xvii
De ecclesiis Catharorum	xviii
De propriis opinionibus Catharorum et primo de opinionibus ecclesie Albanensi	xix ⁴

1. omnes add. b.

2. om. d.

3. De propriis opinionibus Catharorum ecclesie add. y.

4. om. b.

De erroribus Iohannis de Lugduno	xx ¹
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Quomodo heretici cognoscantur	xxvii ³
Quomodo heretici se ingerunt familiaritati hominum	xxviii ⁴
De modo examinandi hereticum	xxix ⁵
De quibus interrogari debet hereticus in examinacione	xxx ⁶
Quomodo debeat hereticus in iudicio conveniri	xxxi ⁷
Quomodo heretici sint puniendi	xxxii ⁸
De sententia pape contra hereticos	xxxiii ⁹
De ypocritis qui vocantur Stertzzer	xxxiiii ¹⁰
Quod ¹¹ Leoniste non servant ewangelium et quod ¹² iactant tamen se servare ¹³	35 ¹⁴
De compilatione novi spiritus	36 ¹⁵

-
1. xviii: a.
 2. chapter headings xix-xxi om. y.
 3. this chapter heading om. b.
 4. xxvii: b.
 5. xxviii: b.
 6. xxix: b.
 7. xxx: b.
 8. xxxi: b.
 9. xxxii: b.
 10. om. b.
 11. De: b.
 12. om. b.
 13. et quod non iactant servare: y.
 14. xxxiii: b.
 15. xxxiiii: b.

[Introduction and chapter headings as given in
10 chapter version]

"Audistis quia antichristus venit¹ nunc autem multi
antichristi facti sunt unde scimus² quia hora novissima
est³ i Iohannis ii, ibi⁴ dicit⁵ glosa: Antichristi sunt
omnes heretici et qui fidem quam confitentur⁶ destruxerunt⁷
actibus⁸ et omnes Christo contrarii. Et quia heu iam⁹
multi sunt heretici idcirco¹⁰ ad laudem dei et cautelam
fidelium [ego frater Rinherus¹¹ olim heresiarcha nunc dei
gratia sacerdos in ordine predicatorum licet indignus¹¹]
presens opusculum de hereticis¹² comparavi.¹³ Distinguitur
autem ipsum¹⁴ opusculum in decem capitula:¹⁵

-
1. veniet: l,s,aa
 2. unde scimus om. dd.
 3. ut add. h.
 4. om. f,u; ubi: m,n,p,s,w,bb,dd.
 5. om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 6. confidentur: m,s,w,aa,bb,dd.
 7. destruunt: u.
 8. negant add. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 9. om. f.
 10. ideo: h,ee.
 11. part in brackets om. h,q,cc.
 12. de hereticis om. c.
 13. compilavi: c,e,i,j,f,l,r,s,t,u,w,m,n,x,aa,bb,dd,ee,ff.
 14. presens: f,h,k,l,aa; hoc: n.
 15. partes: f,ee.

2. I Joh. 2,18.

- Primum¹ est de commendatione fidei Christiane
 Secundum quid sit hereticus
 Tertium de causis heresum
 Quartum de sectis antiquorum hereticorum²
 Quintum de sectis modernorum hereticorum et articulis
 heresum³
 Sextum⁴ de nominibus sectarum
 Septimum quomodo heretici cognoscantur
 Octavum quomodo heretici familiaritati magnorum se
 ingerunt
 Nonum de modo examinandi hereticos⁵
 Decimum quomodo heretici puniantur.

-
1. prima (and secunda etc.): f, ee.
 2. om. f, m, s, w, bb; de numero sectarum instead of de...
 hereticorum: h; Quartum...hereticorum om. q, cc.
 3. et articulis heresum om. m, s, w, bb, ee.
 4. septimum: k; om. m, bb.
 5. Nonum...hereticos om. w.

De commendatione fidei Christiane: Capitulum i¹

Fidem² Romane ecclesie probant³ et commendant multa⁴

Primum est⁵ quia est rationabilior⁶ De deo enim non sentit

aut credit nisi digna maiestati⁷ divine ut unum deum

creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium omnipotentem

trinum et unum.⁸ Sed hereticus ponit duo principia⁹

dyabolum dicens¹⁰ creatorem omnium visibilium;¹¹ non credunt¹²

trinitatem nec filium incarnatum de spiritu sancto sed

de Ioseph. Secundum est¹³ in cultu divino, scilicet¹⁴ in

ecclesiarum ornatu, vestium, vasorum, cantu, lumine, festis,

ieiuniis, et veteri testamento. Sed¹⁵ heretici hec omnia

reprobant. Tertium est¹⁶ in veneratione sacramentorum que

deus instituit, scilicet¹⁷ baptismus,¹⁸ corpus domini, penitentia,¹⁹

1. heading as in a,d,y; other headings: De commendatione fidei: e,s; Sequitur: f,m; Capitulum primum: g,ff; Sequitur capitulum primum: h; Capitulum primum de commendatione fidei: k,l,p; Primum capitulum de commendatione fidei: bb; De commendatione fidei christiane: A,B; no heading: b,c,i,j,n,q,r,t,u,w,x,aa,cc,dd,ee.
2. De primo nota quod fidem: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
3. approbant: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.
4. om. A,B; specialiter xi (duo, s,w,bb,dd; om., m,u) que sunt hec add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc (specialiter tamen hec xi: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee).
5. Primo: A,B.
6. Quia add. k,l,A,B.
7. de deo tantum sentit et credit digna maiestati: A,B.
8. filium de virgine incarnatum add. A,B.
9. duo principalia primum: m,s,w,bb,dd; primo add. u.
10. dominum: m,s,w,bb,dd; om. u,A,B.
11. et deum creatorem (om., u) invisibilium add. u,y; et deum creatorem omnium invisibilium add. in margin: p.
12. credit: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,cc.
13. secundo: A,B.
14. om. A,B.
15. om. a,b,d; quia: all other Ps-R. mss. except h,q,cc.
16. iii: A,B.
17. ut sunt: e,f (sit),k,l,m,n,r (est),s,t,u,x,aa,bb,dd; ut sanctus: c,g,i,j,p,ee,ff.
18. confirmacio add. in margin: e.
19. om. i,j.

sacer ordo, coniugium, extrema unctio.¹ Hec omnia hereticus dampnat.² Quartum sunt³ manifesta signa que faciunt fideles et sancti vivi et mortui,⁴ et primo nota de signis Christi. In primo enim libro ecclesiastice⁵ historie xii capitulo epistola:^a Abagarus rex Ihesu salvatori salutem. Auditum est mihi de te et de sanitatibus tuis quas fecis quod sine medicamentis et herbis fiant ista parte et quod verbo tantum cecos videre facis leprosos mundas demones eicis et mortuos suscitās. Unde statui in animo meo unum esse e duobus, aut quod tu sis deus et descenderis de celo ut hec facias aut quod filius dei sis qui hec facis. Rescriptum Ihesu: Cum assumptus fuero mittam tibi discipulum meum Tatheum qui te curet et omnes tuos. Damascenus.^{6b} Christus

1. confirmacio add. i,j,k,l; ut baptismum, corpus domini, penitenciam, ordinem, coniugium, unccionem extremam: A,B.
2. et sepulturam cymiterii add. dd.
3. iiii: A,B.
4. following passage to quanta signa faciunt (p.12) om. A,B.
5. scolastice: a,b,d,f,i,j,y.
6. ~~Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica trans. Rufinus (ed. Schwarz and Mommsen) I, 13, 6-8.~~
6. deinde [sic] : m,s,u,w,bb.

2. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, trans. Rufinus (ed. Schwarz and Mommsen) I, 13, 6-8.
- b. cf. St. John of Damascus, De Fide orthodoxa Lib. IV (Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus... Series graeca, 94, cols. 1173-74).

Abagaro regi Oganensium¹ qui pictorem miserat ymaginem domini similiter figurare et nequeunte pictore propter coruscantem claritatem que a facie Christi radiabat ipse Christus vestem² proprie faciei imprimens ymaginem suam misit regi. Item vii³ libro ecclesiastice hystorie capitulo xv⁴ In Paneida fuit mulier que a fluxu sanguinis curata est a Christo. In huius domo fuit basis in qua sculpta erat ymago mulieris et Christi, hec manus protendebat ad Christum; iuxta hanc statuum herba nova specie nascitur que cum creverit usque ad fimbriam ymaginis omnes languores depellit.^a Item Constantinus imperator⁵ per fidem baptismi a⁶ Silvestro est mundatus a lepra. Item Constantinus filius Constantini cum contra Maxencium pararet bellum vidit in sompnis signum

1. Ogadinensium: a, b, d, y.

2. om. e, i, m, p, s, u, w, bb, dd.

3. primo: s, u, w, bb, dd, ee.

4. 12: s; 14: m, w, bb, dd.

~~5. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica trans. Rufinus (ed. Schwarz and Mommsen) I, vii, 18, 1.~~

5. Constantinus filius Constantini imperatoris: n, ff.

6. beato add. all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, c, d, g, h, q, cc.

a. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica trans. Rufinus (ed. Schwarz and Mommsen) I, vii, 18, 1.

crucis in celo et dixit ei angelus: In hoc vince.¹ Et sic invitatus ad fidem in clipeis et vexillis signum crucis assumpsit et sic Maxencio submerso² gloriose triumphavit. Item Helena Constantini mater Ierosolimam venit querere sanctam crucem, sed nesciens que vera crux esset quia tres invenit per resurrectionem mortui est inventa³ vera crux. Item per idem tempus gens Yberorum⁴ fidem Christianam suscepit per quendam Christianam captivam. Hec igitur femina per sanctam conversationem gentem illam in ammirationem duxit et regina egritudine desperata laborans iussit se deferri ad cellam captive quam captiva super cilicium suum ponens et invocato Christi nomine perfecte reddidit sanitati. Et sic rex et regina cum tota gente crediderunt in Christum. Nota etiam

1. In hoc signo triumphabis: m,p,s,u,w (triumphaberis),bb,dd.
2. subverso: d,m,s,u,w,y,bb,cc,dd; vel subverso add.above: p.
3. instead of per...inventa: per oracionem mox inventa est: k,l.
4. hebreorum: a,b,d.

quod opera Christi semper vera fuerunt in hiis quos sanabat et a mortuis suscitabat. Non enim visi sunt tantummodo resurgere vel sanari sed perpetuo ab hominibus¹ videbantur non tantum salvatore presente sed etiam multis temporibus post qui ab eo curati vel resuscitati sunt etiam usque ad nostra tempora² duraverunt, sicut Symon leprosus a Christo sanatus³ Cenomanensis factus est episcopus et dictus est Iulianus, et Lazarus etiam factus est episcopus.⁴ Item signa que Christiani⁵ vivi et mortui manifeste coram principibus et populis faciunt⁶ et fecerunt probant fidem nostram esse⁷ certissimam. Nam apostoli per manus impositionem dabant spiritum sanctum et linguis omnium loquebantur et omnes curabant et ydolatriam destruebant.⁸ Item Petrus sub Herode de clauso carcere est eductus. Sic et alii

1. omnibus: e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. tempora multa: m,w,bb,dd.

3. a Christo sanatus om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q, y,cc (p, add. in margin).

4. Massiliensis add. dd: a reference to the legend of 11th or 12th century origin that Lazarus became Bishop of Marseille.

5. faciunt add. k,l.

6. Item signa que principibus apostoli et populis faciunt: m,s,w,bb,dd; Item signa que apostoli faciunt: u.

7. certam ac: add. i,j.

8. ydolatrias only: k,l.

apostoli. Item umbra¹ Petri infirmos in plateis positos sanavit. Item Thabitam et plures mortuos suscitavit. Item coram Nerone² Symonem³ volantem oratione deiecit. Item Balbina filia ducis Quirini gutturnosa per catenam⁴ Petri curatur⁵. Item Paulus⁶ Athenis illuminavit cecum natum. Et sic quasi infinita miracula⁷ deus per Christianos⁸ fecit et sic⁹ fidem catholicam sibi esse dilectam manifeste probavit. Dic si vis que fecit per apostolos; per martires, sicut Blasius qui homines et iumenta sanavit, Georius¹⁰ qui igne de celo templum cum¹¹ ydolis et¹² paganis excussit. Item per confessores sicut Nicolaus qui sub Constantino frumentum¹³ datum auget. Item per virgines sicut Agnes que a prefecto urbis iussa est duci in lupanar¹⁴ ab angelo custoditur qui

1. beati add. i,j,k,l; sancti add. m,u.
2. Herode: s,bb; Verone: r.
3. magum add. h,m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
4. erased and in another hand: hogas (sic) sancti: d.
5. liberatur: c,x; sanatur: g; this sentence om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
6. oratione deiecit...Paulus om. q,cc.
7. mirabilia: m,p,s,bb,dd.
8. et sanctus add. ee.
9. instead of et sic: in quo: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d, h,q,y,cc.
10. Gregorius: b,m,u,i,j; Georgius: x,dd,ee.
11. totum: e,f,g,i,j.
12. templum trium ydolorum cum (presbiteris et add. ee): m,s,w,bb,dd,ee; templum totum ab ydolis et: c,r,t,x,aa.
13. triticum: n.
14. id est in loco quo conveniunt multi add. u.

filium prefecti occidit et ipsa eum resuscitavit et populis
 exuritur igne sancto et ex terre motu¹ multa milia² sunt
 Rome occisa et filia Constantini baptizatur. Ecce quanta
 signa faciunt³ heretici vero nulla⁴ faciunt nec unquam
 aliqua⁵ fecerunt⁶. Quintum quod probat catholicam fidem est⁷
 quia ecclesia predicat palam in tectis⁸ sed heretici⁹ in antris.¹⁰
 Sextum est¹¹ diuturnitas quia duravit a tempore apostolorum
 sed auctores hereticorum sunt novelli sicut Ortlibenses,
 Runcarii et ceteri. Septimum est¹² dilatatio fidei quia in
 omnem terram exivit sonus¹³ apostolorum¹⁴ sed hereticorum in
 paucis terris. Octavum est¹⁵ multitudo credentium, nam omne
 genus homini habet fidem nostram scilicet¹⁶ philosophorum,
 literatorum, principum,¹⁷ sed hereticorum pauci et hoc tantum

1. ex tremore: k,l.
2. hominum add. e,f,i,j,k,l,m,n,p,r,s,t,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd,ee.
3. Christiani et fecerunt add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y;
 Et primo nota de signis Christi...faciunt om. A,B.
4. signa add. A,B.
5. om. c,f,g,i,j,p,r,t,x,y,aa,ee.
6. nec...fecerunt om. A,B.
7. instead of Quintum...est: quinque: A,B.
8. ecclesiis: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (terris, e).
9. occulte add. m,s,w,bb,dd.
10. vi: quia fidem nostram defendimus rationibus et scripturis
 fortibus et veris add. A,B.
11. vii probat: A,B.
12. viii: A,B.
13. eorum add. c,h,i,j,k,l,m,q,s,u,w,x,y,aa,bb,cc,dd.
14. sonus ecclesie et in finibus orbis terre add. A,B.
15. ix: A,B.
16. om. A,B.
17. imperatorum, regum, add. ee.

pauperes et opifices, mulieres et ydiote. Nonum est¹ puritas
 fidei, nam fides nostra detestatur vitia² et amat virtutes³
 sed heretici credentes suos omnia flagitia exercere
 permittunt, dummodo manus impositionem recipiant ab eis.
 Decimum est⁴ integritas fidei: non enim est⁵ divisa sed una,
 sed hereticorum plusquam⁶ lxx secte sunt. Undecimum est⁷
 quia veneramur⁸ sanctos veteris et novi⁹ testamenti sed
 heretici omnes¹⁰ dampnant preter apostolos.¹¹

1. x: A,B.
2. instead of nam...vitia: quia vicia detestatur: A,B.
3. et non amat vicia (om., w,dd): e,m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
4. xi: A,B.
5. fidei quia non est: A,B.
6. om. A,B.
7. xii: A,B.
8. instead of quia veneramur: quod nos imitantur: u.
9. et novi om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
10. sanctos add. m,u,w,bb,dd.
11. preter apostolos om. ee; Potest superaddi et xii quia
 nostram fidem defendimus rationibus et scripturis
 fortibus et veris add. k,l (see p. 12, n.10).

Quid sit hereticus ii¹

Nota² quod ille est hereticus³ qui falsam opinionem gignit
ut Arrius. Item qui⁴ imitatur heresiarcham ut Arriani.

Item⁵ quicumque aliter scripturam intelligit quam spiritus
sanctus flagitet licet ab ecclesia non recesserit. Item⁶
ab⁷ ecclesie communione⁸ divisus et sacramentis. Item⁹
sacramentorum perversor ut Symoniacus.

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (ii om. y); other headings:
Capitulum 2^m: c,j,r,t,ee; Quid sit hereticus: e,w;
Quid sit hereticus, capitulum ii: g,k,l,ff; Sequitur
capitulum ii: h; Item quid sit hereticus: n;
Secundum capitulum quid sit hereticus: p; Nota quid
sit hereticus: s; Sequitur de secundo: dd; no
heading: f,i,m,q,u,x,aa,bb,cc.
2. De secundo nota: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
3. Hereticus est: A,B (nota quod ille om.).
4. instead of Item qui: vel: A,B.
5. secundo modo: A,B.
6. tercio: A,B. all
7. ecclesia...ab om. / Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
8. non sit add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
9. quarto: A,B.

De causis heresum iii¹

Nota² quod sex³ sunt cause⁴ heresis⁵. Prima est inanis gloria quia enim vident doctores in ecclesia honorari idcirco etiam ipsi appetunt per doctrinam honorari. Secunda est quia scilicet⁶ omnes viri et femine, parvi et magni, nocte et die non cessant discere et docere: operarius in die laborans nocte discit vel docet⁷ et ideo parum orant⁸. Propter studium docent etiam et discunt sine libris; docent et discunt⁹ in domibus leprosororum. Item pro introductionibus¹⁰ docent¹¹ vitari septem mortalia peccata et tria, scilicet mendacium detractionem et iuramentum. Hec multis auctoritatibus probant¹² et vocant ea¹³ decem precepta. Item discipulus septem dierum querit alium quem doceat ut cortina cortinam trahat. Qui excusat se quod non possit discere dicunt ei: Disce

-
1. heading as in a,b,d,y (iii om. y); other headings: Capitulum 3^m: c,j,r,ee; De causis hereticorum: e; Capitulum iiim^m de causis heresum: g,p,ff; Sequitur capitulum iiim^m: h; Septem sunt causa heresis, capitulum tertium; k,l; De causis heresi: n; Nota (de causis heresum add. below): s; De causis heresum: w,A,B; no heading: f,i,m,q,t,u,x,aa,bb,cc,dd.
 2. De tertio nota all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
 3. septem: k,l,y.
 4. genera vel cause add. in margin at this point: u.
 5. Heresis vi cause sunt: A,B.
 6. om. A,B.
 7. Operarius in die laborans nichil in nocte impedimenti habere poterit quin discat vel doceat: e,g,k.l,m,n,p,s,u,w,y,bb,dd,ff.
 8. om. a,b; written above line: d.
 9. et discunt om. A,B.
 10. in produccionibus [sic] : m,u,w,bb,dd.
 11. in predicacionibus add. ee.
 12. confirmant: k,l,A,B.
 13. instead of Hec vocant: et vocant ea: k,l,A,B.

cottidie tantum¹ unum verbum² et post annum scies trecenta³
et sic proficies. Verum est quod dico. Quidam hereticus ad
hoc tantum⁴ ut quendam⁵ a fide nostra averteret et ad suam
perverteret⁶, nocte tempore hyemali, per aquam que Ibsa dicitur⁷
ad ipsum natavit.⁸ In hoc reprehendi potest⁹ negligentia
fidelium doctorum qui non sic zelant Catholice fidei
veritatem sicut perfidi Leoniste¹⁰ zelant errorem infidelitatis
sue.¹¹ Tertia causa heresis est quia novum et vetus testamentum
vulgariter transtulerunt et sic docent et discunt. Audivi
et vidi quendam¹² rusticum idiotam qui Iob recitavit de
verbo ad verbum, et plures¹³ qui totum novum¹⁴ testamentum
perfecte sciverunt, et quia sunt laici ydiote false et
corrupte scripturam¹⁵ exponunt ut est illud Iohannis i: "In

1. om. A,B.
2. om. h,q,cc.
3. sexaginta quinque add. k,l.
4. nitebatur add. c,f,i,j,x,ee; nisus fuit add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. instead of Verum...quendam: Audivi ex ore cuiusdam quod
quidam hereticus quem eciam novi ad hoc tantum ut eum: A,B.
6. converteret: c,r,t,x,aa,ee; convertetur: i,j.
7. dicitur Ibis: A,B. The present river Ibbs, Lower Austria.
8. om. A,B.
9. doctrina et add. u; instead of In...potest: Erubescat: A,B.
10. zelant...Leoniste om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y
(non sic sed zelant, m,s,w,bb,dd; non sic faciunt sed
zelant, u; zelant katholice fidei veritatem sicut
perfidi Leoniste add. in bottom margin in another hand, p).
11. om. A,B.
12. om. A,B.
13. alios add. A,B,ff.
14. totum novum om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
15. intelligunt sive add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

propria venit et sui¹ eum non receperunt.^a Ibi dicunt sui,
 id est porci, dicentes² sues pro sui³, et illud psalmis:
 "Increpa feras harundinis,^b Rephse⁵ diu tyer der swalwen,
 dicentes⁶ yrundinis pro harundinis. Psalmis etiam titulos
 imponunt sic⁷. Eructavit, der meid salm; Exurgat, der
rach salm; De profundis, der re⁸ salm⁹; et sic de ceteris.
 In locis occultis et horis docent et discunt, nec aliquem
 admittunt qui non sit credens eorum. Quando simul¹⁰
 conveniunt tunc¹¹ primo dicunt; Cavete ne inter nos sit
 lignum curvum,¹² id est¹³ aliquis extraneus. Suam etiam
 doctrinam precipiunt occultari a clericis sicut quidam
 locuntur per signa que nemo intelligit nisi ipsi. Sic
 heretici¹⁴ verba transformant quod nemo ea¹⁵ intelligit preter
 eos.¹⁶ Ecclesiam vocant stainhaus, altare stainhaufen,¹⁷

-
1. id est porci add. c,x.
 2. instead of Ibi...dicentes: exponentes sui (scilicet sui exponent, g) pro porcis, recipientes: g,n,ff.
 3. sui pro suis: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y.
 (Ibi dicunt...sui om. c,x); instead of ut est illud...sui:
 ut Iohannis i: sui, id est porci, eum non receperunt, sui
 dicentes pro sues: A,B.
 4. dicunt add. A,B.
 5. Straffe: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc (om. b;
 Resphse vel Straphe: y).
 6. om. A,B.
 7. om. A,B.
 8. rueff: c; rew: f,ee; we: g; raw: i,j; rer: m,s,u,w,bb,dd;
 rufe: x; vel der toten salm add. in margin: p.
 9. dy toten salm vel der re salm: y.
 10. instead of Quando simul: Cum in uno: A,B.
 11. om. A,B.
 12. Ist icht chrumps holcz hynn add. w.
 13. ne add. A,B.
 14. et ipsi add. A,B.
 15. instead of Quod nemo ea: que nemo: A,B.
 16. exemplum add. m,u,w,bb,dd,ee.
 17. altare stainhaufen om. A,B.

clericos scribas, religiosos phariseos, et sic de multis aliis.¹ Directe nunquam² respondent. Quarta causa heresum est scandalum de malo exemplo quorundam. Unde cum quosdam vident male vivere dicunt: Sic apostoli non vixerunt nec nos qui sumus imitatores apostolorum. Quinta causa est insufficientia doctrine quorundam qui predicant quandoque frivola vel falsa.³ Unde quicquid ecclesie doctor docet quod per textum novi testamenti non probat hoc totum pro fabulis habent.⁴ Sexta causa est irreverentia quam quidam ministri ecclesie exhibent sacramentis. Septima causa est odium quod habent contra ecclesiam. Audivi ab ore hereticorum quod intendebant clericos et claustrales redigere⁵ ad statum fossorum per ablationem decimarum et possessionum et per

1. de multis aliis om. p; clericos...aliis om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
2. non: A,B.
3. quorum heu multi sunt add. k,l.
4. contra ecclesiam add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,x,y.
5. dirigere: g,n,ff.

potentiam et multitudinem credentium ipsorum et fautorum.
 Cum quidam heresiarcha nomine¹ Henricus, cyrotecarius in
 Tewen,² duceretur ad mortem dixit coram omnibus: Merito nos
 modo³ dampnatis quia si status noster non⁴ esset⁵ minoratus
 potestatem mortis⁶ quam exercetis contra nos modo hanc
 nos⁷ exercuissemus contra vos omnes, scilicet⁸ clericos,
 religiosos et laicos.

De ecclesiis quas heretici infecerunt *iiii*⁹

In omnibus fere civitatibus Lombardie et in provincia
 Provincie¹⁰ et in aliis regnis et terris plures erant
 scole hereticorum quam theologorum et plures auditores
 qui publice disputabant et populum ad sollempnes stationes¹¹
 convocabant¹² in foro et in campo et predicabant in
 tectis et non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter
 potentiam et multitudinem fautorum ipsorum. Inquisitioni

1. om. A,B.
2. Teben: p,cc; in Tewen om. u,dd. Devin (Theben) at the confluence of the March and Danube.
3. omnes: a,b,d,y; om. c,f,i,j,r,t,aa,ee.
4. status vester only: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. modo add. e,m,p,s,bb.
6. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
7. om. a,b,d,y.
8. vos omnes scilicet om. A,B.
9. heading as in a,b,d,y (*iiii* om. y); om. all other mss. except p, which has a marginal heading: Quartum capitulum de ecclesiis quas heretici infecerunt.
10. sancta Magdalena add. below line: u.
11. disputationes: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
12. provocabant: m,u,w,bb,dd.

et examinationi hereticorum frequenter¹ interfui et
 computate sunt in dyocesi² xlii³ ecclesie que heresi
 infecte fuerunt,⁴ et in sola parrochia que dicitur
 Chemenaten⁵ fuerunt⁶ x scole⁷ et eiusdem⁸ parrochie⁹ plebanus
 ab hereticis est occisus¹⁰ et de hoc nullum iudicium est
 secutum.¹¹

Item¹² ecclesia in¹³ Lengenveld et ibi scole

Item in Strezinge¹⁴ et ibi scole

1. semper: i, j, ee.
2. Patav [iensi] written in margin: d; Pataviensi add.
 all other Ps-R. mss. except a, h, q, cc (Pictaviensi ibi
 sanctus Hilarius fuit episcopus: written in margin: u).
3. xliii: k, l; xli: all other Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h,
 q, y, cc; xl: B; ix [sic]: A.
4. instead of que...fuerunt: quas infecerunt (interfecerunt, m):
 m, s, w, bb, dd (41 homines quos heretici interfecerunt: u).
5. instead of que dicitur Chemenaten: Connach: A, B.
 Kematen B. Neuhofen, O.Ö.? See above p. lvi
6. om. A.
7. hereticorum add. A, B.
8. huius: A, B.
9. ecclesie: all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y, cc.
10. interfectus: A, B.
11. Nomina ecclesiarum vel villarum (heading) add. e (in margin),
 g, n, ff; Sunt autem iste ecclesie quas heretici habent add.
 all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, y; Has ecclesias infecerant
 Leoniste (heading) add. A, B.
12. Prima: A, B (the following items being numbered).
13. Item ecclesia in om. all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, y
 (Item in, h).
14. et episcopus add. k.

Item in Leubs¹

Item in Drozendorf²

Item ad Sanctum Oswaldum

Item in Enzinspach et ibi scole et episcopus³

Item ad Sanctum Christoforum

Item in Pehaimchirichen

Item in Ibsa

Item ad Sanctum Georium

Item in Ansteten

Item in Wichlatim⁴

Item in Nwerstat⁵

1. alias in Liubis add. k,l.

2. et ibi scole add. A,B.

3. Alderspach et ibi scole add. k,l; vii Algerspach et ibi scole add. A,B. (Argetspach, A).

4. forte Pechlarn add. k,l.

5. forte Newmrkt add. k.

Item in Ardacher¹

Item in Sitensteten

Item ad Sanctum Petrum in Awgea² et ibi scole³

Item in Aspach

Item in Wolfspach

Item in Weitra⁴

Item in Hag

Item in Sunnelburch

Item ad Sanctum Valentinum

Item in Hederichshoven

Item in Stiria et ibi⁵ scole

Item ad Sanctum Florianum

Item in Ansveld

Item in Syrnich et ibi⁶ scole

Item in Weizzenchirichen

Item in Chemenaten et ibi scole plures et plebanus
occisus est ab eis⁷

1. In Sewsenstain add. k.

2. in der Awe: A,B.

3. in Awgia id est der Aw et ibi scole et pontifex: k,l.

4. credo Weystra add. k,l.

5. et ibi om. A,B.

6. et ibi om. A,B.

7. instead of et plebanus...eis: ut hic supra ponitur et
ibidem pontifex: k; ibi scole et pontifex: l.

Item in Neuenhoven et ibi scole leprosorum¹

Item in Welsa

Item in Swans

Item in Gunschirichen

Item ad Sanctam Mariam

Item in Pupinge

Item in Griezchirichen

Item in Nerden

Item in Anaso et ibi² scole

Item in Puchirichen

Item in Atergeu scilicet³ in Chamer et ibi scole

Item in Nechleub.⁴

1. Item in Wolfarn add. g; instead of et...leprosorum:
scole: A,B.

2. et ibi om. A,B.

3. om. A,B.

4. Summa xliii add. k; Summa dri und vierzig add. l.
The spelling of these place names is that of codex
a. See p.lv above for identification of the places
mentioned. This list is given in full in a,b,d,e,f,i
j,k,q,r,t,y,aa,ff,A,B only, omissions of one or more
items occurring in the remaining mss.

De sectis hereticorum v¹

[De sectis antiquorum hereticorum: Capitulum quartum]

Secte² hereticorum fuerunt plusquam lxx que omnes per dei gratiam delete sunt preter sectas Manicheorum et Paterinorum que occupant Lombardiam et preter sectas Ortlibariorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum³ que Alemanniam infecerunt.⁴ Inter omnes has sectas que adhuc⁵ sunt vel fuerunt non est perniciosior ecclesie dei quam Leonistarum; et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est quia diuturnior. Aliqui enim⁶ dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri,⁷ aliqui⁸ quod a tempore apostolorum. Secunda quia est generalior. Fere enim nulla terra est in qua hec secta non serpat.⁹ Tertia quia cum omnes alie secte immanitate blasphemiarum in deum¹⁰ audientibus horrorem¹¹ inducant hec scilicet¹² Leonistarum magnam habet¹³ speciem pietatis eo quod

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (v om. y); other headings: De sectis hereticorum: c; De sectis antiquorum hereticorum: e,s; Capitulum iii: g,h,j,r,ee; Quot secte fuerunt, Capitulum quartum: k; Sequitur capitulum 4^m, quot fuerunt secte: l; De sectis antiquorum: n,w; Capitulum quartum de sectis antiquorum hereticorum: p; Sequitur: dd; De sectis antiquorum, Capitulum iii: ff; Quod secta pauperum de Lugduno perniciosior sit quam cetera (cetera om. B): A,B no heading: f,i,m,q,t,u,x,aa,bb,cc.
2. De quarto nota quod secte: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
3. instead of Manicheorum...Leonistarum: Manicheorum, Arrianorum Runcariorum et Leonistarum: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa; et Leonistarum Runcariorum: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
4. at this point in margin: de secta Lonistarum [sic]: e.
5. om. A,B.
6. aliqui enim om. A,B.
7. pape add. h,m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
8. alii dicunt: A,B.
9. sit: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y,h,q,cc (esset, f).
10. dictis: p; dictarum: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
11. errorem: f,u,x.
12. om. A,B.
13. habens: A,B.

coram hominibus iuste vivant et bene omnia de deo credant et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur, solummodo Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum cui multitudo laicorum facilis est¹ ad credendum. Et sicut in Iudicum vulpes^a Sampsonis facies diversas habebant sed caudas sibi invicem colligatas, sic heretici sunt in sectis divisi in² se sed in impugnatione ecclesie sunt uniti, quandoque in una domo sunt heretici trium sectarum quarum quolibet dampnat alteram et simul ecclesiam Romanam inpugnant et sic³ sub dole vulpecule vineam domini id est ecclesiam erroribus demoliuntur.⁴

1. animus add. k,l.

2. inter: A,B.

3. sicut: A,B.

4. inpugnant: m,p,s,u,w,bb; erroribus inpugnant et demoliuntur eam: dd; Omnis ergo fidelis Christi qui legit has nefandissimas blasphemias errorum compatiatur sancte Romane ecclesie matri nostre ob preciosum sanguinem Ihesu Christi quem fudit pro ea ut viriliter se accingat hereticorum Leonistarum spurcissimos errores rationibus et precipue novi testamenti auctoritatibus confutando. Ipsi enim intendunt funditus subruere fidem nostram. Et quia heu (om. A) rarus est qui consurgat Christo adversus hereticos malignantes opponens se murum pro domo domini tu ipse surge deus et indica causam tuam add. A,B (see below p. 48,n. 4).

a. Jud. 15, 4.

De ortu pauperum de Lugduno vi¹

[De sectis modernorum hereticorum et articulis heresis:
Capitulum quintum]

Nota² secta³ pauperum de Lugduno qui etiam Leoniste dicuntur⁴
tali modo orta est⁵. Cum cives maiores essent pariter in
Lugduno contigit quendam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde
quidam⁶ inter eos⁷ tantum fuit territus quod statim magnum
thesaurum pauperibus erogavit et ex hoc maxima multitudo
pauperum confluit ad eum, quos⁸ docuit secum⁹ habere
voluntariam paupertatem et esse imitatores Christi et

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (De ortu pauperum in Lugduno, y);
other headings: Capitulum v^m Ortus pauperum de Lugduno: a;
De secta pauperum de Lugduno: e; De sectis modernorum:
g,n,ff; Notabile: h; Ortus pauperum de Lugduno: i,r,ee;
Ortus pauperum: j; Sequitur Capitulum 5^m: l; Quintum
capitulum, de sectis modernorum hereticorum: p; Notandum:
s; v^m capitulum (in another hand): t; Sequitur de secta
pauperum: dd; no heading: f,k,m,q,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,A,B;
Plurima de hiis que subscripta (scripta, A) sunt audiui ex ore
ipsorum hereticorum in sollempni examinacione et publica
stacione, plurima eciam in collacione hereticorum quedam
eciam in scriptis catholicorum add. at beginning of this
passage: A,B.
2. De quinto nota: s; quod add. all other Ps-R. mss. except
a,b,d,y,
3. modernorum seu add. n.
4. que tali nomine Leo multum diviti add. dd.
5. Secta pauperum de Lugduno est orta hoc modo: A,B.
6. de maioribus add. A,B.
7. nomine Leo add. dd.
8. ipse add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
9. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.

apostolorum. Cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus novi testamenti textum docuit eos vulgariter, pro qua temeritate cum fuisset¹ reprehensus contempsit et cepit instare² doctrine sue, dicens discipulis suis quod clerus quanto male³ vite esset⁴ invidereat sancte vite ipsorum et perfecte⁵ doctrine. Cum autem papa sententiam excommunicationis tulisset in eos pertinaciter contempserunt et sic usque⁶ in omnibus terminis illis proficit doctrina ipsorum.⁷

1. ab episcopo add. A,B.

2. insistere: k,l.

3. peioris: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

4. tanto plus add. e,w; tanto add. m,p,u,bb,ss; tanto magis add. s.

5. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

6. om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd; hodie add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

7. et Runkarii add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,k,l,y (et etiam Runkarii et cetera, h; et rancoris [sic], t).

De articulis heresum quas habent Leoniste et Runkarii vii¹

De articulis heresum quas habent Leoniste²

Nota tria.³ Primo de blasphemiiis quibus blasphemant Romanam ecclesiam et sancta statuta ipsius et omnem clerum. In secunda parte tanguntur⁵ errores contra ecclesiastica sacramenta et sanctos. In tertia parte nota detestationes quibus omnes honestas et approbatas consuetudines ecclesie detestantur.⁶ Primo dicunt⁷ quod Romana ecclesia non sit ecclesia Ihesu Christi sed sit ecclesia malignantium et quod defecerit sub Sylvestro quando venenum temporalium⁸ infusum est in ecclesiam; sed dicunt quod ipsi sint ecclesia Ihesu Christi quia ipsi doctrinam ewangelii et apostolorum verbis et exemplis observent.⁹ Secundus error est quod omnia vitia et peccata in ecclesia¹⁰ sint et quod ipsi soli iuste vivant. Tertius est quod doctrinam ewangelicam pene nullus servet in ecclesia preter

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (vii om. b; et Runkarii om. y); other headings: Nota errores hereticorum: c,ee; De blasphemiiis et erroribus: g; Notabile: h; Errores hereticorum: j; De blasphemiiis et erroribus hereticorum: k; Sequitur capitulum 6^m de blasphemiiis et erroribus hereticorum: l; Blasphemie: n; De articulis heresum: p; Blasphemie et errores: t,ff; Notas errores plasphemie: r; Articuli heresum: A,B; no heading: e,f,i,m,q,s,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd.
2. this heading om. all mss. except a,b,d,y.
3. instead of Nota tria: Distinguitur autem hoc opusculum in tres partes: A,B.
4. In prima parte de blasphemiiis: A,B.
5. nota: A,B.
6. contra Romanam ecclesiam add. A,B.
7. Primus error est: A,B.
8. possessionum add. k,l.
9. sed dicunt...observent om. A,B.
10. in ecclesia om. f,g,i,j,u,w,ee.

eos. Quartus quod ipsi sint vere pauperes spiritu et persecutionem patiantur propter iusticiam et fidem. Quintus quod ipsi sint ecclesia Ihesu Christi. Sextus quod Romana ecclesia sit meretrix¹ in Apocalypsi propter superfluum ornatum quem etiam ecclesia orientalis non curat. Septimus quod omnia statuta ecclesie contempnunt quia sint gravia et plurima. Octavus quod papa sit caput omnium errorum. Nonus quod prelati sint² scribe et religiosi pharisei. Decimus quod papa et omnes episcopi sint homicide propter bella.³ Undecimus quod non sit obediendum prelati sed tantum deo, Actuum: "Obedire oportet deo^a et cetera⁴." Duodecimus quod nemo sit maior altero in ecclesia, Mathei: "Vos omnes fratres estis.^b" Tredecimus quod nemo debeat flectere genua sacerdoti, Apocalypsis, ubi dixit⁵ angelus Iohanni: "Vide ne feceris."^c xiiii, quod decime non sint dande quia in primitiva ecclesia

1. de qua dicitur add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd,ee.

2. homicide propter bella add. g,n,ff.

3. this sentence om. B.

4. Actuum...cetera om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,k,l,q,y,cc.

5. ubi dixit om. A,B.

a. Act. 5, 29.

b. Matth. 23, 8.

c. Apoc. 19, 10.

non dabantur.¹ xv, quod clerici possessiones² non debeant habere, Deuteronomii: " Non habebunt sacerdotes et omnes qui de tribu Levi sunt partem et hereditatem cum populo Israel quia sacrificia comedent et nichil aliud accipient.³ xvi, quod clerici et claustrales non debeant prebendas habere. xvii, quod episcopi et abbates non debeant iura⁴ regalia habere. xviii, quod terra et populus non sit per parrochias⁵ dividendus. xix, quod malum sit fundare⁶ et dotare ecclesias et claustra. xx, quod testamenta non sint ecclesiis ordinanda. Item quod nullus debeat fieri ecclesie censualis. Item omnem clerum dampnant propter otium, dicentes eos debere manibus operari sicut apostoli fecerunt.⁷ Item nomina prelationum reprobant sicut papa episcopus et huiusmodi. Item quod nemo⁸ cogendus sit ad fidem. Item omnia officia ecclesiastica nulla

1. xv^o dicunt eos (omnes, l) peccare qui decimas dant et recipiunt decimas add. k,l (remaining items numbered from xvi).
2. et proprium add. k,l.
3. Contra Actuum 4: Nichil eorum qui possidebant dicebant esse proprium sed erant eis omnia communia add. k,l (in margin, l).
4. om. A,B.
5. partes: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc (om. x).
6. fraudare [sic] : a,d.
7. om. A,B.
8. om. a,b,y; written above line: d; nullus: all other Ps-R. mss. except h.

a. Deut. 18, 1-2.

reputant.¹ Item privilegia ecclesiastica nichil² curant.

Item emunitatem ecclesie et personarum et rerum ecclesiasticarum spernunt. Item concilia synodes et conventus despiciunt.³ Item dicunt quod omnia iura parochialia sint tantum adinventiones. Item dicunt quod⁴ observantie religiosorum sint⁵ traditiones phariseorum.

Quod Leoniste et Runkarii omnia sacramenta ecclesie dampnant viii⁶

Secundo⁷ omnia sacramenta ecclesie dampnant. Primo de sacramento baptismi⁸ dicunt quod cathecismus nichil sit.⁹ Item quod ablutio que¹⁰ datur infantibus nichil prosit. Item quod patrini non intelligant quid respondeant sacerdoti. Item quod oblatio illa¹¹ que dicitur¹² awegen¹³ sit adinventio. Item omnes exorcismos et benedictiones baptismi reprobant.¹⁴ Item sacramentum confirmationis reprobant;¹⁵

1. et curant add. c,f,x (nec curant add. and deleted, ee).
2. reputant et add. i,j; (reputant nec, ee).
3. spernunt: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,k,l,q,y,cc.
4. omnes add. B.
5. instead of sint: per homines religiosos facte sunt: c,f, i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee (facte sint, r,t,ee).
6. heading as in a,b,d,y (ecclesie om. b; omnia om. d; instead of viii:et cetera, y); other headings: Notabilia errorum: c,j,r,ee; Quod heretici dampnant omnia sacramenta: g; Quod dampnant sacramenta ecclesiastica:k,l; Heretici dampnant omnia sacramenta: n,ff; Errores contra sacramenta ecclesie: p; Secunda pars: A,B; no heading: e,f,h,i,m,q,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd.
7. Leoniste et Runkarii: a,b,d,y; De secunda parte erroris: A,B.
8. instead of sacramento baptismi: baptismo: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
9. Item dicunt quod parvulos per baptismum non salvari, Mathe⁹: qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, si infans non credit, ergo non salvatur add. k,l.
10. aque: s; aque que: m,w,bb,dd,ee.
11. om. A,B.
12. om. A,B.
13. abewegen: B; abwegen: A;
14. this sentence om. A,B.
15. Item...reprobant om. c,i,j.

mirantur etiam quare solis episcopis liceat confirmare.¹
 Item de sacramento eukaristie dicunt quod sacerdos in
 mortali peccato non possit conficere.² Item dicunt quod
 transubstantiatio non fiat in manu indigne conficientis sed
 in ore digne sumentis et quod confici possit in mensa³
 communi, Malachias: "In omni loco offertur nomini meo oblatio
 munda.² Item quod semel⁴ in anno fideles⁵ communicant
 hoc⁶ reprobant quia⁷ ipsi cottidie communicant. Item dicunt
 quod transubstantiatio fiat per verba vulgaria. Item dicunt
 quod missa nichil sit quia apostoli eam non habebant⁸ et
 quod fiat propter questum.⁹ Item canonem misse non
 recipiunt nisi tantum verba¹⁰ Christi vulgariter. Item cantum
 ecclesie dicunt esse clamorem infernalem. Item horas

1. De erroribus heretici circa sacramentum eucharistie
 (heading) add. e.
2. Regum: Oza mortuus est quia tetigit archam, et Iohannes
 baptista non audebat tangere verticem domini: add. k,l;
instead of Item de sacramento...conficere: Quod bonus
 laycus eciam mulier si scit verba possit conficere: A,B.
3. loco: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
4. semel tantum: k,l; tantum: A,B.
5. om. e (christiani written above line), g,m,n,p (written in
 margin), s,u,w,bb,dd,ff; qui: k,l.
6. om. A,B.
7. quod: A,B.
8. quia...habebant om. f,i,j.
9. et quod Christus semel sit oblatus add. k,l.
10. om. A,B.

a. malach. 1, 11.

canonicas reprobant. Item dicunt quod oblatio que fit sacerdotibus in missa nichil prosit.¹ Item osculum pacis et altaris et manus sacerdotis et pedum pape² reprobant.³

De sacramento penitentie dicunt quod nullus possit absolvi a malo sacerdote.⁴ Item quod bonus laicus potestatem habeat absolvendi. Item quod ipsi per manus impositionem peccata dimittant et dent spiritum sanctum.⁵ Item quod confitendum sit potius bono laico quam malo sacerdoti. Item quod non sit gravius penitentia imponenda exemplo Christi: "Vade et iam amplius noli peccare." Item publicas penitencias ut carinas reprobant, maxime in feminis. Item quod generalis confessio non sit singulis annis facienda.⁶ Item sacramentum coniugii dampnant dicentes mortaliter peccare coniuges si

1. ewangelium: misericordiam volo et non sacrificium. Item dicunt quod melius sit pauperi offerre quam sacerdoti add. k,l.
2. et manus...pape om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc (sacerdotis om. a,b,d,y; pedum om. cc; this phrase written in margin: p).
3. Contra Mathei: si offers munerum tuum ante altare add. k. Headings add. at this point: De erroribus circa penitenciam: e; De sacramento: c,n,j; De penitencia: g,bb,ff; Errores circa penitenciam: p.
4. Proverbiorum: ab immundo quis mundabitur; Malachias: maladicam benedictionibus vestris; Luce: medite circa te ipsum; Mathei: eice primum trabem, et cetera; Ysaïas: coangustatem est stratum ita quod alter decadat et pallium breve quod duos operire non potest; stratum dicunt animam puerumque intelligunt deum et diabolum add. k,l.
5. hoc ipsi reprobant [sic] add. u.
6. singulariter facienda: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd,ee; De coniugio in margin: bb.

a. Joh. 8, 11.

absque spe prolis convenient¹. Item compaternitatem nichil reputant. Item gradus affinitatis et consanguinitatis carnalis et spiritualis quos ecclesia instituit et impedimenta ordinis et publice honestatis et ecclesie vetitum² spernunt. Item dicunt quod femina post partum non egeat benedictione et introductione. Item quod ecclesia erraverit clericis matrimonium prohibendo cum etiam orientales contrahant. Item dicunt quod continentes non peccent per oscula et amplexus.³ Sacramentum unctionis etiam reprobant quia tantum divitibus datur et propter plures sacerdotes ibi necessarios.⁴ Item sacramentum ordinis dicunt nichil esse.

1. Corinthios: qui uxores habent tamquam non habentes et cetera. Contra Corinthios: qui matrimonio iungit filiam suam benefacit add. k,l (Contra...matrimonio, k only).
2. et ecclesie vetitum om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
3. headings add. at this point: Sacramentum unctionis: c; De erroribus circa extremam unctionem: e; De sacramento unctionis: j,ee; De unctione: n; Errores circa extremam unctionem: p; Ad idem: r; De unccione error: t; De unccio: b; De unctione extrema: ff.
4. Item dicunt esse ultimam superbiam hominis. Contra Iacobi: ultra confirmatur quos in vobis inducet presbiteris ecclesie et cetera add. k,l (Contra...et cetera, k only).

Item dicunt quod omnis bonus laycus sit sacerdos sicut apostoli layci erant. Item quod oratio mali sacerdotis non¹ prosit, Gregorius: "Cum hiis qui displicent" et cetera.² Item quod latina oratio laycis non prosit. Item tonsuram clericalem derident.³ Item subsannant quod illegitimi et pravi et notorii peccatores in ecclesia sublimantur.⁴ Item dicunt quod omnis laycus et etiam femina debeat predicare, Corinthios: "Volo⁵ omnes loqui in linguis ut ecclesia edificatione accipiat."^a Item quicquid predicatur quod per textum biblie non probatur pro fabulis habent. Item dicunt quod sacra scriptura eundem effectum habeat in vulgari quem in latino, unde et conficiunt in vulgari et dant sacramenta. Item textum novi testamenti et magnam partem veteris vulgariter

1. nichil: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h; nulli: A,B.
2. Gregorius...cetera om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d.
3. Gregorius: Cum hiis qui displicent et cetera add. h,q,cc; these two sentences transposed all mss. except a,b,d; both sentences om. k,l.
4. Item dicunt quod Christus non dedit apostolis stolas nec infulam nec anulum nec aliud ornamentum add. k,l.
5. vos add. A,B.

a. I Cor. 14, 5.

sciunt corde. Item decretales et decreta et dicta et expositiones sanctorum respuunt et tantum inherent textui. Item excommunicationem contempnunt et absolutionem non curant.¹ Item indulgentias ecclesie respuunt; dispensationem derident; irregularitatem non credunt.² Item nullum sanctum credunt nisi apostolos; nullum sanctum invocant nisi solum deum. Item canonizationem translationem et vigiliis sanctorum contempnunt. Item laycos qui forte sanctos eligunt in altari derident. Item letaniam nunquam legunt; legendas sanctorum non credunt. Item miracula sanctorum subsannant. Item reliquias sanctorum³ contempnunt. Item lignum sancte crucis reputant ut simplex lignum. Item signum sancte crucis horrent propter supplicium Christi nec unquam⁴ signant se.⁵ Item dicunt quod doctrina Christi

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1. et...curant om. and instead: dicentes esse maledictum. Genesis: qui maledixit tibi; Ecclesiastes: Cum maledicit impius diabolum maledicit animam suam. (Contra Actuum: Petrus maledixit Ananiam et Saphiram et Symonem apostolus huiusmodi tradidit Sathane, idem excommunicavit Corinthum. Galatas: si quis aliter ewangelizaverit anathema sit. Iohannis: neque ave dixeritis ei.) Item tempore interdicti exultant heretici quia tunc possunt corripere christianos et faciunt vilescere cultum dei add. k,l (passages in brackets om. l).
 2. De indulgentiis nichil credunt: Luce: quis potest dimittere peccata nisi solus deus. Absoluciones nichil reputant. (Solucio huius deus remittit auctoritate sacerdos officio, Iohannis xx: quorum remisistis peccata, et cetera.) Item festa ecclesie nichil reputant dicentes unum diem esse sicut alium. (Contra dominus precepit diem sabati sanctificare; ad hoc respondent si propter preceptum decalogi servare debemus ergo et circumcidi. Contra Christus ascendit ad festum ecclesie cxx^{ti} dies in anno festi) add. k,l (passages in brackets om. l).
 3. non credunt vel add. k,l.
 4. om. A,B.
 5. Item quidam dicunt quod (et,l) predicant crucem furto sublatam per se rediisse. (Contra Galatas: michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini, et cetera; Sapiencie: benedictum lignum per quod fit iusticia; Mathei: videbunt signum filii hominis. Item si beatus est venter qui Christum percavit ergo et crux in qua sanguinem fudit) add. k,l (passage in brackets om. l).

et apostolorum sine statutis ecclesie sufficiat ad salutem. Item dicunt quod doctrina ecclesie¹ sit traditio phariseorum et quod maior vis sit² in transgressione humane traditionis quam legis divine, Mathei: "Quare vos transgredimini³ mandata dei propter traditiones vestras.⁴"^a Item⁵ mysticum sensum in divinis scripturis refutant⁶ precipue in dictis et actis ab ecclesia traditis⁷ ut quod gallus super campanile significet doctorem.^b

Quod omnes honestas et approbatas ecclesie consuetudines dampnant ix⁸

De tertia parte nota quod⁹ circa consuetudines ecclesie¹⁰ hos habent errores.¹¹ Omnes igitur¹² consuetudines ecclesie approbatas quas in ewangelio non legunt contempnunt, sicut

1. sufficiat...ecclesie om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d.
2. fiat: A,B.
3. Quare transgressio: A,B.
4. Item dicunt quod doctrina Christi et apostolorum sine statutis ecclesie sufficiat ad salutem add. e,g,h,k,l,m,n, p,q,s,u,w,bb,cc,dd,ee,ff; Mathei...vestra om. l; Item sanctos non credunt ut supra habetur nisi quorum mencio est in ewangelio vel in actibus. (Contra laudate dominum in sanctis eius) add. k,l (passage in brackets om. l).
5. institutum ecclesie vel add. u.
6. nichil reputant: m,s,u,w,bb.
7. et editis add. A,B.
8. heading as a,d,y (Quod omnes honestas et approbatas consuetudines dampnant, y); other headings: Nota error: c; De erroribus hereticorum contra consuetudines ecclesie: e; Errores circa consuetudines et cetera: g; Nota errores: ee; Errores circa consuetudines ecclesie: p,ff; De tertia parte: A; Tercie partis: B; no heading: b,f,h,i,j,k,l,m,n, q,r,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd.
9. De tertia parte nota quod om. a,b,d,y.
10. honestas et approbatas Leoniste et Runcarii add. a,b,d,y.
11. instead of De tertia...errores: Tercie partis errores sunt hii: A,B.
12. om. A,B.

a. Matth. 15,3.

b. For a discussion of the symbolism of the cock placed upon the bell-tower of a church see Joseph Sauer, Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters (Freiburg - im - Breisgau, 1902) pp. 143-45.

festum luminum¹, palmarum, reconciliationem penitentium,
 adorationem crucis in parasceve; festum pasce et omnia festa²
 Christi et³ sanctorum spernunt⁴ propter multiplicationem⁵
 festorum et dicunt quod unus dies sit sicut alius, unde in
 festis⁶ occulte operantur. Item ieiunia ecclesie nichil curant,
 Ysaïas: "Numquid tale est ieiunium quod elegi:^a Item omnes
 dedicationes, benedictiones, et consecrationes candelarum⁷,
 cinerum⁸, palmarum, crismatis⁹, ignis, cerei, agni paschalis,
 mulierum¹⁰ post partum, peregrinorum¹¹, sacrorum locorum,
 sacrarum personarum, vestium, salis, et aque derident.
 Ecclesiam muratam reputant ut horreum et appellant eam
 vulgariter ein stainhaus, nec deum ibi habitare dicunt;
 Actuum: "Non in templis manufactis habitat deus,^b et quod

1. ad purificationem add. dd.
2. et omnia festa om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc
 (et alia festa, dd).
3. aliorum add. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb.
4. festa add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,f,h,q,u,y,cc.
 (instead of et sanctorum spernunt: et festa beate Marie
 et aliorum festa sanctorum [et] Christi spernunt: dd).
5. multitudinem: g,n,ff.
6. ut festis: A,B.
7. carnum add. c,e,f,i,j,m,p,r,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,dd,ee.
8. om. i,j,r,t,aa.
9. olei add. f,ee.
10. matrum: A,B.
11. om. m,p,s,u,w,bb.

a. Is. 58, 5.

b. Act. 17, 24.

orationes non plus ibi valeant quam in cubiculo; Mathei:
 "Tu autem cum oraveris intra in cubiculum.¹ Item
 dedicationem ecclesie vel altaris nichil curant.² Item
 ornatum ecclesie dicunt esse peccatum et quod melius esset
 vestire pauperes quam ornare parietes.³ Item dicunt de
 altari quod dampnum sit⁴ pannum putrescere super lapides.
 Et quod Christus non dederit apostolis stolas nec casulam
 nec infulam.⁵ Item conficiunt in peccario pro calice et
 dicunt quod corporale sit ut pannus braccarum. Item de
 lumine dicunt quod deus qui est lux vera non egeat lumine,
 et ad hoc tantum⁶ valere in ecclesiis ne clerici ibi pedes
 ledant.⁷ Item thurificationem reprobant. Aquam benedictam
 dicunt esse ut simplicem. Ymages et picturas dicunt

1. Iohannis iiii: Nec in monte hoc neque in Ierosolimis adorabitis. (Contra et ingressus Ierosolimam primo intravit templum) add. k, l (passage in brackets om. l).
2. Contra nota de dedicacione templi et tabernaculi Iohannis: facta sunt encenia Iherosolimis add. k.
3. Contra nota de ornatu tabernaculi et templi Exodi primo add. k.
4. maior patrum in processione [sic] add. k.
5. et...infulam om. k, l (see p. 35, 4 above).
6. om. A, B.
7. fedantur: m, s, w, bb, dd.

a. math. 6, 6.

esse ydololatriam. Item cantum ecclesie subsannant et dicunt quod in verbis tantum et non in melodia sit vis. Item clamores¹ laycorum² derident. Item processiones festivas ut pasche³ et lugubres ut dies rogationum et funerum respuunt. Dicunt quod cantus nocturnus et diurnus noviter a Gregorio sit institutus quem prius ecclesia non habebat. Item quod sacerdos plures missas diversis⁴ uno die cantare permittit⁵ reprehendunt. Item quod infirmi ante altare super asserem se movent subsannant.⁶ Item tempore interdicti exultant quia tunc plures corrumpunt.⁷ Item dicunt quod homines⁸ cogantur ire ad ecclesiam propter questum, ipsi tamen etiam ad ecclesiam fecte vadunt, offerunt, confitentur, et communicant sed totum⁹ fecte.¹⁰ Item

1. vel vociferaciones add. k,l
2. in ecclesia add. dd.
3. ut pasche om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd (festivas om. u,m).
4. diversas all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,p,q,y.
5. permittitur: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,p,q,x,y,cc.
76. this sentence om. k,l (see p. 36, above).
67. this sentence om. c,f,g,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.
8. om. A,B.
9. sed totum om. A,B.
10. sed totum fecte om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

peregrinari Romam et ultra mare dissuadent, tamen ipsi se fingunt peregrinari¹ et ita Lombardiam intrantes visitant episcopos suos. Item sepulchrum domini et sepulchra sanctorum contempnunt. Item ecclesiasticam² sepulturam reprobant,³ Mathei: "Ve qui edificatis sepulchra⁴ Vellent etiam potius sepeliri in campo quam in cimiterio, si non timerent ecclesiam. Item dicunt quod exequie mortuorum, misse defunctorum, oblationes, pompe⁵ funerum, testamenta, legata, visitatione sepulchrorum, vigilie, lecte, anniversarius septimus et tricesimus⁶, et cetera suffragia animabus non prosint⁷. Item vigilias nocturnas funerum⁸ reprobant propter insanias que ibi fiunt⁹. Item confraternitatem clericorum et laicorum que dicitur zeche¹⁰ dissuadent et dicunt hec

1. instead of peregrinari...peregrinari: peregrinari only: h,q,cc; peregrinantur only: all other Ps-R mss. except a,b,d,y.
2. om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
3. this sentence om. here: k,l.
4. (Contra Ysaïas: erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum, et cetera; Psalmorum: adoravimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.) Ecclesiasticam sepulturam reprobant add. k,l (passage in brackets om. l).
5. om. f,i,j,r,t,aa,ee (oblaciones pompe funerum om. c,x; pompe funerum om. n).
6. septimus et tricesimus om. A,B.
7. et a sacerdotibus agantur propter questum. (Contra Machabeorum: vir fortissimus Iudas et cetera) add. k,l (passage in brackets om. l).
8. et corpus si quis supra edificaverat et cetera add. k
9. this sentence om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee; Leoniste dicunt non operantes clericos peccare; hos dicunt plenos superbia avaricia et invidia. Mathei: amant primos recubitus in cenis et vocari ab hominibus Rabbi, et cetera. Item peregrinationes reprobant propter discursum (Contra Luce: Christus apparuit in specie peregrini; Mathei: argentei dati sunt in sepulturam peregrinorum) add. k,l (passage in brackets om. l).
10. bohemicum brattsw add. dd.

omnia agi propter questum¹. Hos omnes errores habent quia negant purgatorium², dicentes tantum duas vias esse scilicet unam electorum ad celum, aliam dampnatorum ad infernum, Ecclesiastes: "Lignum quocunque ceciderit ibi erit."³ Si enim est bonus non indiget⁴ suffragio, si est malus nichil prodest.⁵ Item dicunt quod omne peccatum sit mortale et nullum veniale. Item dicunt quod unum pater noster plus valeat quam sonus x campanarum et plus quam missa. Item dicunt quod omne iuramentum sit mortale peccatum, Mathei: "Nolite iurare omnino et cetera, sed sit sermo vester est est, non non."⁶ Qui dicit vere vel certe reputant iuramentum. Perfecti enim inter eos⁷ potius moriuntur quam iurent. Imperfectus vero iurat si cogitur iurare vel etiam si dicatur sibi forma iuramenti,

1. clericorum add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. instead of Hos omnes...purgatorium: Item negant esse purgatorium: k,l.

3. id.est in celo vel in inferno add. k,l.

4. purgatorio vel add. a,b,d,y.

5. sibi add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

6. Contra laudabuntur omnes qui iurant in eo, Psalmorum. Sancti patres iuraverunt. Apostolus iuravit, testem in voto deum in animam meam; Apocalypsis: angelus levavit manum et iuravit per viventem in secula seculorum, et cetera. Item. deus iuravit; Hebreorum: Cum non haberet maiorem iuravit per se metipsum, et Christus amen amen dico vobis: ergo licet iurare iuramentum. Sed frequenter iurandi et assiduitas pro levibus causis ducit in periuriam. Heretici qui nunquam iurant sunt similes diabolo qui nusquam legitur iurasse: add. k.

7. enim inter eos om. A,B.

a. Eccl. 11, 3.

b. Math. 5, 34-37.

per hoc se a peccato excusans ne¹ prodat secreta. Immo plusquam homicidam reputant qui cogit² iurare, ut confirmator quia confirmando exigit iuramentum, et iudex a testibus, et examinador in fide, et sacerdos qui cogit abiurare peccata, unde multi sunt³ periuri. Item reprehendunt eum qui dicit quod violans fidem quam dedit sacerdoti sit reus septem periuriorum. Item dicunt quod omnes iudices et principes dampnentur et dicunt maleficos non dampnandos iuxta illud:⁴ "Michi vindictam et ego retribuam"^a et⁵ Mathei: "Sinite utraque crescere."^b Item iudicia ecclesiastica que habent sacerdotes fieri dicunt non correctionis causa sed propter questum.

1. cogatur et sic coactus add. all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y, cc.
2. eos: written above line: d.
3. fiunt: A, B.
4. instead of iuxta illud: responsio: A, B; Genesis: qui effuderit humanum sanguinem fundetur sanguis eius; Exodi: non occides; Deuteronomii: michi vindictam et ego retribuam; Mathei: nolite condemnare, et cetera, nolite iudicare; Idem: sinite utraque crescere, et mitte gladium tuum in vaginam. (Contra maleficos ne patiaris vivere. Item Moyses suspendit principes contra solem) add. k, l (passages in brackets om. l).
5. cetera add. A, B.
6. Mathei: Michi...crescere om. k, l (see n. 4 above).

a. Rom. 12, 19.

b. Matth. 13, 30.

De Runkariis x¹

Runkarii in magna parte concordant² cum Paterinis, nisi quod dicunt³ quod a cingulo deorsum non committatur mortale peccatum quia dominus dicit quod ex corde procedunt fornicaciones^a, unde omnes abhominacines⁴ etiam contra naturam⁵. Item quia nolunt mentiri ideo⁶ nunquam dant⁷ rectas responsiones; et ut possint latitare⁸ verbi gratia cum dicitur: Credis quod homo aliquo casu possit iurare sine peccato?, quod ipse non credit, occultat⁹ tamen per conditionem respondendo: Domine si ego debeo credere credo; vel simulat se simplicem et dicit: Vos debetis me talia docere;¹⁰ vel simulat se stultum quod tamen pauci faciunt. Unde cogendi¹¹ sunt ut respondeant directe¹² sic sic vel non non. Item utuntur equivocibus¹³ et aliis fallaciis unde cum dicitur: Credis quod aliquis

1. heading as a,d (De Runkariis cum quibus concordant x: d); other headings: De Runcariis: c,g,n,ff; Runcarii: j,ee; De erroribus Runcariorum: k,l vi^m capitulum et primo de secta Runcariorum: p; Notandum (De nominibus sectarum at top of page): s; De sectis hereticorum modernorum: w; 6^m capitulum: bb; Sequitur vi^m capitulum: dd; De Runchariis: B; no heading: b,e,f,h,i,m,q,r,t,u,x,y,aa,cc,A.
2. Nota quod Runcharii concordant in parte magna: A,B.
3. om. A,B.
4. faciunt et add. k,l; faciunt add. A,B.
5. non reputant mortale peccatum add. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd; exercent add. y; Runcarii...naturam: obliterated: c.
6. om. A,B.
7. iustas vel add. f,i,j,x,ee.
8. litigare: m,n,s,u,w,bb,dd; om. A,B.
9. id est oculum frequenter claudit add. dd.
10. vel simulat...docere om. A,B.
11. cognoscendi: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
12. indirecte: m,s,u,bb,dd.
13. equivalentiis: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,k,l,q,y,cc.

possit conficere qui non est ordinatus ab episcopo? dicit quod non, sed intelligit quod quilibet, sive vir, sive mulier, ordinatus sit a summo episcopo¹, scilicet deo², dummodo sciat verba que dominus protulit in cena. Unde magna cautela habenda est in eorum responsionibus.

De Sifridensibus xi³

Item Sifridenses concordant cum Valdensibus fere in omnibus, nisi quod recipiunt sacramentum eukaristie.

De Ortlibensibus xii⁴

Item nota quod Ortlibenses requisiti de articulis fidei omnes confitentur sed mystice intelligunt, secundum quod ex parte potest cognosci ex eorum responsione, unde etiam mulieres secte ipsorum⁵ sapientes, etiam clericos, decipiunt.

De Paterinis xiii⁶

Item si perfecte vis⁷ cognoscere errores Paterinorum respice summam fratris Torsonis. Cum talibus⁸ parum potest fieri nisi per testes, quia imperfecti periurant et mentiuntur, sed perfecti, qui consolati vocantur in Lombardia et in Teutonia boni homines vocantur, subirent mortem antequam aliquid facerent horum.

1. ordinandus a summo pontifice: f,i,j,ee.

2. om. a,b,d.

3. heading in a,d,y (xi om. y) only.

4. heading in a,d,y (xii om. y) only.

5. secte ipsorum om. A,B.

6. heading in a,d,y (xiii om. y) only.

7. scire et add. e,p,m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

8. Cum canibus scilicet Ordibensibus [i.e. Ortlibensibus]: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

De Ortlibariis xiiii¹

Ortlibarii dicunt quod mundus non habeat principium. Item dicunt quod archa Noe² nichil aliud sit quam secta ipsorum, et quod extra sectam ipsorum omnes³ perierant usque ad octo⁴ qui servabant eam. Item dicunt quod Christus fuit filius Joseph⁵ et Marie et quod fuit peccator, et quod ipse Christus eorum sectam predicto modo fere destructam reparaverit, et quod fuerit de numero⁶ illorum octo, et quod per sectam ipsorum salvus factus sit. Item dicunt non fuisse passum Ihesum Christum. Item dicunt quod ipsi sint pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Ille enim dicitur pater qui primo intrat sectam ipsorum, filius qui a tali patre per ipsius predicationem intrat secta ipsorum, spiritus sanctus qui est perfectus

1. heading as in a,d,y (xiiii om. y); other headings: Errores Ortlibariorum: g,ff; Orclibarii: j; Errores Ordibariorum: n; De secta Ortlibariorum: p; Nota errores: ee; De secunda secta Ortlibariorum: B; no heading: b,c,e,f,h,i,k,l,m,q,r,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd,A.
2. dicunt illud quod nos dicimus archam Noe: A,B.
3. om. A,B.
4. homines add. k,l.
5. Christus filius dei fuerit filius Joseph: m,s,u,w,bb.
6. de numero om. e,p,s,m,w,bb; de numero illorum om. u (qui servabant...octo om. dd).

in secta ipsorum¹ Talis absolvit et ligat² et omnia potest.
 Item dicunt quod nichil sit cantus ecclesie nisi clamor
 inferni. Item dicunt papam caput totius mali et doctorem
 erroris. Item dicunt sacerdotes factores vie mendacii. Item
 dicunt quod trinitas non fuit ante nativitatem Christi
 sed tunc primo deus pater habuit filium³ quando Ihesus⁴
 suscepit verbum, et dicunt ipsum esse filium Marie virginis
 non carnaliter ex ea sed spiritualiter per predicationem
 eius genitum et secundum hoc ipsa prius fuit filia quam
 ipse. Unde ipsum dicunt factum fuisse⁵ ex creatura. Item
 quando predicavit Ihesus et attraxit alios tunc primo accessit
 tertia persona scilicet Petrus vel⁶ Andreas. Hoc secundum
 ipsos est trinitas que est in celo et ad huius imitationem,

1. spiritus sanctus...ipsorum om. c,j,x,A,B; filius qui...
 ipsorum om. i.
2. signat: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
3. om. A,B.
4. Maria [sic] : m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. deum add. A,B.
6. Iohannes add. h.

et in nomine huius trinitatis, orant, non sine trinitate personarum quam faciunt inter se. Unde qui senior est in secta et alios traxit in sectam stat loco patris in oratione,¹ tractus² loco filii, qui cooperatus est loco³ spiritus sancti.⁴

1. in oratione om. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
2. ille qui tractus est: m,s,u,bb,dd; ille qui tractus: w.
3. patris ille qui tractus est loco add. m,s,w,bb,dd.
4. Omnis ergo fidelis Christi qui ~~egit~~ vel audit has nephandissimas blasphemias errorum compatiatur sancte romane ecclesie matri nostre ob preciosum sanguinem Ihesu Christi quem fudit pro ea [ut] viriliter se accingat hereticorum Leonistarum et Ortlibensium spurcissimos errores rationibus et precipue novi testamenti auctoritatibus confutando. Ipsi enim intendunt funditus subruere fidem nostram. Et quia heu rarus est qui consurgat Christo adversus hereticos malignatos opponens se murum pro domo domini tu ipse surge deus et iudica causam tuam add. k, l (see p.25, n.4).

De Ortlivensibus xv¹

Ortlivenses errant in multis articulis fidei et primo in trinitate. Dicunt enim quod trinitas non fuerit ante nativitatem Christi² sed tunc primo deus pater habuit filium quando Ihesus, quem dicunt³ filium fabri, scilicet Ioseph, carnalem sicut ego sum carnalis filius patris mei, suscepit verbum predicationis beate virginis Marie. Dicunt enim quod predicando traxit eum in secta ipsorum et sic factus est filius dei credendo, qui ante fuit filius carnalis et peccator. Sic verbum caro factum est quando cor carnale domini Ihesu mutatum est per verbum, sic virgo genuit⁴ filium virgo manens post partum; alio modo non credunt virginem genuisse dei filium. Quando vero predicavit postmodum⁵

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xv om. b,y); other headings: Errores Ordibensium: c; Opiniones Ortlibensium: g,ff; De erroribus Ordibensium: j,r,ee; Item de Ortlibensis articuli: k; Sequitur de articulis Ortlibensium: l; Opiniones ordinorum [sic] : n; no heading: e,f,h,i,q,t,x,aa,cc,A,B. The first part of this chapter is omitted in m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd (see below p. 50, n.2).

2. om. A,B.

3. esse add. A,B.

4. verbum id est add. h.

5. per mundum : all B-R. mss. except a,b,d,q,y,cc.

dominus Ihesus accessit tertia persona scilicet beatus Petrus qui cooperabatur ei predicando et alios trahendo. Ipse ergo est spiritus sanctus qui¹ cooperator fuit filii. Hec secundum ipsos est trinitas que est in celo et ad huius imitationem formant trinitates suas in terris dicentes² quod nemo potest venire ad regnum celorum nisi³ inveniatur in aliqua trinitate, scilicet quod sit vel pater vel filius vel spiritus sanctus. Est autem pater qui aliquem trahit predicatione sua in sectam, filius qui trahitur, spiritus sanctus qui cooperatus est trahenti, confortando tractum ut in secta permaneat. In hac itaque trinitate personarum oportet eos convenire quandocumque volunt orare et tunc⁴ stat pater in medio duorum, filius ad dextram patris,

1. quia: A,B.

2. De Ortlivensibus xv. Ortlivenses errant (p.42) ... dicentes om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

3. om. A,B.

4. om. A,B.

spiritus sanctus ad sinistram; pater in primo loco sive altiori, filius in medio dignitate, spiritus sanctus in novissimo¹. Hii tres vocantur proximi. Quando ergo queritur ab aliquo ipsorum² Quis est tuus proximus, intelligitur de hiis³ qui secum steterunt in ordine trinitatis⁴ personarum. Hiis signis deprehendes eos. Item dicunt mundum eternum esse nec est creatus secundum ipsos, et ita deus non est creator mundi. Si queratur quomodo Adam dicatur prothoplastus dicunt quod fuit primus homo qui secundum deum⁵ creatus fuit, qui⁶ primus fecit voluntatem dei credendo secte eorum. Attende quomodo excecavit eos malitia eorum qui nesciunt quid dicant, ponentes tot⁷ impossibilia. Omnes enim profitentur ordinem suum initiatorum

1. loco add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
2. om. A,B.
3. de hiis om. A,B.
4. dignitatis: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. instead of deum: eos per dei creationem ex predicatione primo: all Ps-R. mss. except h,cc (deum om., q; hec, a,b,d,y).
6. quia: A,B.
7. corde: q; in cordibus: h; om. all other Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.

secte; quomodo ergo dominus Ihesus fuit primus filius dei cum aliquis credendo tantum efficiatur filius dei¹ sicut etiam se ipsos dicunt filios dei?² Item supposito quod Ihesus fuerit de secta ipsorum, sicut ipsi dicunt, quomodo adhuc potuit esse Adam primus³ cum fides sit ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum fidei. Beata ergo virgo que predicavit ei verbum fidei necessario prius credebatur, ergo ipsa prius filia fuit⁴ quam ipse Ihesus filius fuerit, ergo deus pater prius habuit filiam quam filium. Item si Adam fuit primus homo qui secundum voluntatem dei natus est per fidem, quomodo Ihesus fuit primus?⁶ Item resurrectionem corporum⁷ negant et iudicium extremum dicunt futurum esse, sed vitam eternam spirituum non negant. Iudicium extremum dicunt

1. cum aliquis...dei om. c,i,j,x,ee.

2. om. A,B.

3. homo add. k,l,q,aa,cc.

4. om. A,B.

5. om. a,b,d,x,y.

6. Si queratur (p.51)...primus om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

7. mortuorum: e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

futurum esse scilicet quando papa et¹ imperator ad sectam ipsorum convertentur. Tunc enim tollent de medio omnes qui non fuerunt de secta illa et postea vivent in eternum cum maxima tranquillitate, tamen nascentur² homines et morientur sicut modo. Item omnes articulos qui sunt de humanitate³ Christi exponunt moraliter, nichil credentes ad litteram. Incarnationem verbi⁴ exponunt sicut dixi supra. De passione dicunt quod filius⁵ dei suscepit⁶ crucem vera fide, vera confessione⁷, communi consilio, hoc est⁸ veram penitentiam sive vitam ipsorum⁹. Tunc autem crucifigitur filius dei et flagellatur quando aliquis ipsorum male tractatur, vel affligitur, vel occiditur; tunc moritur filius dei quando aliquis ipsorum cadit in mortale peccatum,¹⁰ vel

-
1. papa et om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 2. nos add. A,B.
 3. humilitate: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,f,h,q,u,y,cc,ee.
 4. Christi: m,p,u,dd; domini: w.
 5. om. A,B.
 6. dei suscepit om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 7. contricione seu add. dd.
 8. hoc est om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 9. quam non cadit in mortale peccatum add. h; cadit in mortale peccatum add. q,cc; in qua non cadit in mortale peccatum add. all other Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
 10. Tunc autem...peccatum om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

recedit a secta; resurgit autem per penitentiam. Ad litteram de passione Christi, resurrectione, et ceteris articulis¹ nichil credunt. In sacramentis omnibus errant. De baptismo enim dicunt quod nichil valet nisi quantum valent merita baptizantis; parvulis vero non prodest nisi fuerint perfecti in secta illa. Item dicunt quod etiam iudeus possit salvari in secta sua sine baptismo. Confirmationem dicunt bonam esse sed intelligunt quod bonum est confirmatum esse in secta; de confirmatione ecclesie nichil curantes. Item corpus Christi dicunt esse purum² panem, corpus autem proprium appellant verum corpus Christi. De penitentia dicunt sicut dictum est supra; tamen in se austere vivunt et graves penitencias agunt. Multi quoque ex eis alternis diebus

1. fidei add. k,l.

2. om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

ieiunant. De indulgentiis autem que fiunt per ecclesiam et clavibus non credunt. Item decimas¹ dicunt non² esse dandas sacerdotibus et clericis ex debito officii. Dicunt enim quod de officio debeant³ vivere sicut faber vel sutor de suo officio vivunt,⁴ non maius estimantes officium sacerdotis quam sutoris. De ordine et⁵ extrema unctione dicunt ut supra dictum est.⁶ De matrimonio dicunt quod⁷ licitum est⁸ et bonum, si velint coniugati⁹ continenter vivere, sed opus carnale coniugatorum dampnant. Tamen si queritur an liceat talibus generare pueros dicunt quod sic, et intelligunt de spirituali generatione per predicationem. Item de homicidio, iuramento, et mendacio¹⁰ dicunt ut supra dictum est.¹¹ Item scripta patrum non recipiunt dicentes quod

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1. divicias: m,s,w,bb.
 2. om. d.
 3. quia dicunt quod officio debet: A,B.
 4. om. A,B.
 5. ordine et om. f,ee.
 6. dictum est om. A,B.
 7. matrimonium add. A,B.
 8. verum et licitum sit: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 9. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 10. et mendacio om. n,u,w,dd.
 11. dictum est om. A,B.

iiii^{or} ewangeliste scripserunt utiliter quia¹ in cordibus,
 alii iiii^{or} inutiliter quia in pelligibus. Primos iiii^{or},
 scilicet qui utiliter scripserunt, interpretantur Mattheum,
 Marcum, Lucam et Iohannem. Istos dicunt recipiendos, et
 ipsi eos² recipiunt sed tantum moraliter exponunt. Alios
 iiii^{or} dicunt Ieronimum, Augustinum, Ambrosium et³ Benedictum.⁴
 Horum scripta contempnunt et ipsos dicunt dampnatos preter
 Benedictum⁵ eo quod ipse conversus ab errore suo et salvatus,
 ut ipsi⁶ dicunt.

1. scripserunt add. A,B.

2. ipsi eos om. A,B.

3. Gregorium: b.

4. Bernhardum: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,ee; Gregorium: u,w,aa; alias
 Gregorium add. dd.

5. Bernhardum: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,ee.

6. om. A,B.

De Catharis¹ et eorum communibus opinionibus xvi²

Secta Catharorum³ divisa est in tres partes sive sectas principales, quarum prima vocantur Albanenses, secunda Concorezenses, tertia Baglenses,⁴ et hii omnes sunt in Lombardia. Ceteri vero Cathari sive sint in Tuscia, sive in Marchia, vel in Provincia, non discrepant in opinionibus a dictis Catharis seu ab aliquibus eorum. Habent igitur omnes Cathari opiniones communes in quibus concordant⁵ et proprias in quibus discordant.⁶ Communes opiniones omnium Catharorum sunt iste, videlicet quod dyabolus fecerit hunc mundum et omnia que in eo sunt. Item quod omnia sacramenta ecclesie, scilicet sacramentum baptismi aque materialis et cetera sacramenta, nichil prosint ad salutem et quod non sint vera sacramenta Christi et eius ecclesie sed deceptoria

1. hereticis add. b.

2. heading as in a,b,d,y (xvi om. y); other headings: De errore Catharorum: c; Divisio Katharorum: g,n,ee,ff; Nota divisio Catharorum: j; Sequitur de articulis Katharorum: k,l; De secta Catharorum: p; Summa fratris Reinheri quondam heresiarche contra Catharos tertia secta: B; no heading: e,f,h,i,m,q,r,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd,A. The following section on the Cathars has been collated with Reinerius Sacchoni's Summa, ed. Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen, pp. 64-78 (referred to as R.S.). Except in certain cases only those variants which show the relationship between the Ps-R., A.P. and R.S. texts have been noted below. A few variant readings from the edition by Martène and Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, V (Paris, 1717) cols. 1761-76 (referred to as M.D.) have also been given.

3. Sciendum est primum quod prima secta videlicet Catharorum: A,B. Cf. R.S.: Sciendum est itaque primum quod prima secta videlicet Catharorum.

4. i.e. Bagnolenses (as k,l). Chief variants: Baglacenses: e,p; Baganenses: m,u,w,bb,dd. Baiolenses: R.S.

5. conveniunt: A,B. Cf. R.S.

6. De omnibus dicendum est et primo de communibus add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. See below, p. 76, for a note on these names.

et dyabolica et ecclesie malignantium.¹ Item communis opinio omnium Catharorum est quod matrimonium carnale semper fuerit mortale peccatum, et quod non puniatur aliquis gravius in futuro propter adulterium et incestum, quam propter legitimum coniugium, nec etiam apud eos quisquam gravius puniretur. Item omnes Cathari negant carnis resurrectionem futuram. Item credunt quod comedere carnes, ova, vel caseum, etiam in urgenti necessitate, sit mortale peccatum.² Item quod potestates seculares peccent mortaliter puniendo malefactores vel hereticos. Item quod nemo possit salvus fieri nisi per ipsos. Item quod omnes parvuli etiam³ baptizati non⁴ levius eternaliter punientur quam latrones et homicide. Sed in hoc dissentiunt Albanenses dicentes quod nulla creatura boni⁵ dei peribit.⁶

1. Quid (Quot: R.S.) vero sacramenta et que et qualia habeant predicti heretici dicetur inferius add. A,B. Cf. R.S.
2. et hoc ideo quia nascuntur ex coitu. Item quod non licet iurare in aliquo casu et hoc ideo esse mortale peccatum add. R.S.
3. non add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,x,cc.
4. om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. bona; a,b,d,h,y,ee.
6. quod nulli boni dei peribunt: m,s,u,w,bb,dd; instead of Sed...peribit: Sed in hoc videntur dissentire aliquantulum Albanenses, sicut infra dicetur: R.S.

Item omnes negant purgatorium. Item est communis opinio omnium Catharorum¹ quod graviter peccaret quicumque occideret² avem aliquam, a minima usque ad maximam, et quadrupedia, a mustela usque ad elephantem, sed de ceteris animalibus non sic intelligunt.³

De sacramentis Catharorum xvii⁴

Cathari⁵ ad instar symearum que actus hominis imitari conantur quatuor habent sacramenta falsa tamen et inania, illicita et sacrilega, que sunt manus impositio, panis benedictio, penitencia, et ordo. De singulis per ordinem dicamus.⁶ Manus

1. Item omnes Cathari dicunt: a,b,d.
2. quicumque ex eis sponte occideret: A,B. Cf. R.S.: quicumque ex iis occideret sponte (Dondaine, Le Manuel, p.174, n.9).
3. According to Dondaine, loc. cit., the passage "sed in hoc dissentiunt Albanenses...sic intelligunt" is usually given in mss. of the R.S. text as "Sed in hoc videntur dissentire aliquantulum Albanenses, sicut infra dicetur. Item negant purgatorium." He remarks, however, that ms. Dublin, Trinity College, C.5.19 gives the following reading "Dissentiunt Albanenses dicentes, quod nulla creatura boni dei peribit. Item omnes negant purgatorium. Est etiam communis opinio omnium catharorum, quod peccaret gravius quicumque ex iis (qui) occideret sponte avem aliquam, a minima avicula usque ad maximam, et quadrupedia a mustela usque ad elephantem. Sed de ceteris animalibus non sic dicunt."
4. heading as in a,b,d,y (hereticorum for catharorum: b; xvii om. y); other headings: De falsis sacramentis hereticorum: c,j,ee; Quatuor sunt sacramenta falso kathare: g; Sequitur de quatuor falsis sacramentis katharorum: k,l; Quattuor sacramenta katharorum: n; De sacramentis catharorum: p; De falsis sacramentis symearum: r; iiii^{OR} falsa sacramenta katharorum: ff; no heading: e,f,h,i,m,q,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,dd,A,B.
5. namque add. A,B. Cf. R.S.
6. De singulis dicendum est per ordinem: A,B. Cf. R.S.: De quibus per ordinem est dicendum.

impositio vocatur ab eis consolamentum et spirituale baptismum sive baptismum spiritus sancti, sine qua secundum eos nec peccatum mortale dimittitur,¹ nec spiritus sanctus alicui datur, sed per eam solummodo ab eis² factam utrumque confertur. Differunt tamen in hoc aliquantulum Albanenses a ceteris. Albanenses enim dicunt³ quod manus ibi nichil operatur, cum ipsa a⁴ dyabolo sit creata secundum eos, ut infra dicetur, sed sola oratio dominica quam ipsi dicunt tunc et⁵ quod utrumque ibi necessarium requiritur, videlicet et manus impositio et dominica oratio. Est etiam communis opinio omnium Catharorum quod per illam impositionem manus et orationem dominicam⁶ non fiat aliqua remissio peccatorum si illi qui tunc manus imponunt sunt tunc in aliquo mortali peccato. Fit autem hec manus impositio a duobus ad minus et non solum a prelatiis eorum sed etiam a subditis et in necessitate a Catharabus. Fractio panis est quedam benedictio Catharorum panis⁵, quam ipsi cottidie faciunt tam in prandio quam in cena. Fit autem hec

1. remittitur: A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. ab eis om. a,b,d,s,y.

3. Differunt tamen in hoc ab eis aliquantulum Albanenses. Dicunt enim: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

4. ex: A,B.

5. instead of et: qui manus imponunt. Ceteri vero omnes Cathari dicunt: R.S.

6. et orationem dominicam om. R.S.

7. instead of Fractio panis: Est quedam panis benedictio Catharorum panis (panis om. A): A,B. Panis benedictio Catharorum est quedam fractio panis: R.S.

panis fractio tali modo. Cum ingressi sunt ad mensam Cathari sive Cathare tunc¹ stantes omnes dicunt: Pater noster. Interim qui prior est professione² vel ordine tenet panem unum, vel plures si necesse est, ad multitudinem que ibi forte esset, et dicendo: Gràtia domini nostri Ihesu Christi sit semper³ cum omnibus nobis, frangit panem, sive panes, et distribuit omnibus discumbentibus, non solum Catharis sed etiam credentibus suis, adulteris, latronibus, et homicidis. Veruntamen Albanenses dicunt quod panis ille corporalis non benedicitur nec possit recipere benedictionem aliquam, cum ipse panis sit creatura dyaboli secundum eos, et in hoc differunt a ceteris omnibus qui dicunt quod panis ille vere benedicitur. Nemo tamen ex eis credit quod ex illo pane conficiatur corpus Christi.⁴

1. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. processionem: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y. Cf. R.S.: professione.

3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc. Cf. R.S.

4. Nunc dicendum est qualis penitencia Katharorum sit
add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

penitentia autem Catharorum omnium proculdubio est falsa, vana, deceptoria, et venenosa, sicut subsequenter ostenditur. Tria namque requiruntur in vera et fructuosa penitentia, scilicet cordis contritio, oris confessio, et operis satisfactio. Ego autem frater Rinherus, olim heresiarcha, nunc dei gratia sacerdos in ordine fratrum predicatorum, licet indignus, dico indubitanter et testificor coram deo¹ quod² non mentior quod illorum trium non est aliquod inter Catharos sive in penitentia eorum. Erroris namque venenum, quod biberunt ex antiqui serpentis ore, non sinit eos de peccatis suis habere aliquem dolorem. Hic autem error quadruplex est, videlicet quod pro aliquo peccato non diminuitur eterna gloria. Secundus est quod pena inferni impenitenti non augeatur. Tertius est

1. qui scit add. R.S.

2. et: g,k,m,n,s,u,w,bb,dd,ff.

quod ignis purgatorius nemini reservatur. Quartus est quod impositione manus culpa et pena a deo totaliter relaxatur. Non enim minus punietur infans unius diei quam Iudas¹ proditor, sed omnes sunt² equales tam in gloria quam in pena sicut ipsi credunt, exceptis tamen Albanensibus, qui dicunt quod quisque restituetur in statum³ pristinum non tamen propriis meritis, et quod in utroque regno, dei scilicet et dyaboli, alii maiores sunt aliis. Dico etiam quod multi ex eis qui infecti sunt memoratis erroribus sepe dolent dum recolunt quod non repleverunt⁴ sepius libidinem suam tempore quo non⁵ fuerant professi heresim Catharorum, et hec est causa quare multi credentes eorum⁶ tam viri quam mulieres non timent magis⁷ accedere⁸ ad sororem suam et fratrem⁹ filium sive filiam,¹⁰

1. traditor vel. add. s,w,bb; traditor et add. m,u,dd.
2. om. A,B.
3. gradum: A and all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc, (m, ee, statum corrected to gradum)
4. adimpleverunt: R.S.
5. nondum: A,B. Cf. R.S.
6. et hoc tanquam credentes multi eorum: m,u,w,bb,dd.
7. om. f,i,j,ee.
8. om. g,k,l,n,o,ff.
9. et fratrem om. i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.
10. nepotem vel add. h.

neptem, consanguineam, et cognatam, quam ad uxorem et virum proprium; tamen aliqui ex eis horribilitate ac humana verecundia fortasse ab huiusmodi retrahuntur. Probatur etiam manifeste quod non dolent de peccatis suis, que ante professionem¹ sue heresis commiserunt, pro eo quod nulli restituunt usuram, furtum, vel rapinam; imo reservant eam vel potius relinquunt filiis et nepotibus in seculo remanentibus, quia dicunt usuram nullam esse peccatum. Preterea dico quod in xvii² annis quibus heu conversatus sum cum eis non vidi aliquem ex eis orare secreto seorsum ab aliis, aut ostendere se tristem de peccatis suis, seu lacrimari, vel percutere pectus suum et dicere: Propitius esto mihi peccatori, domine; sive aliquid aliud huiusmodi, quod esset signum contricionis. Numquam etiam implorant patrocini-

1. confessionem: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. 4: m,s,u; l4: w,bb,dd; xviii: k,l,aa.

angelorum vel sanctorum seu beate virginis, neque se muniunt signo crucis.¹ Sequitur de confessione Catharorum² qualis sit, et quando ipsi eam faciant, et quibus confitentur. Confessio eorum hec est: Ego sum coram deo et vobis ad faciendum confessionem et ad ponendum me in culpam de omnibus peccatis meis que sunt in me usque modo,³ et ad recipiendum de omnibus eis veniam a deo et a vobis. Fit etiam ista confessio publice coram omnibus qui sunt ibi congregati, ubi multotiens sunt centum et plures viri et mulieres Cathari et credentes⁴ eorum, et dictam confessionem facit quisque eorum quando recipit dictam manus impositionem; et facit eam principaliter prelato eorum tenenti codicem ewangeliorum vel totius novi testamenti in pectore suo, qui facta absolutione ponit

1. Nota de confessione Catharorum (heading in margin): p;
De confessione Catharorum (heading): k.
2. Nunc de confessione Catharorum dicendum est eciam: A,B.
Cf. R.S.
3. hodie: f,ee.
4. et credentes om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

dictum librum super caput illius et alii Cathari qui assunt suam dexteram¹, incipiendo consequenter² suas orationes. Quando autem quis eorum cadit in peccatum carnis, vel in aliquod quod sit secundum opiniones eorum mortale, postquam recepit supra dictam manus impositionem, oportet eum confiteri illud peccatum tantum et non alia, et iterum recipere impositionem manus secreto a prelato suo et ab uno alio cum eo ad minus.³ Unus pro omnibus loquens alta voce omnibusque inclinatis ad terram coram prelato tenentilibrum coram⁴ pectus suum dicit: Nos venimus coram deo et vobis ad confitendum peccata nostra quia multum peccavimus verbo et opere, in visione et cogitatione: et cetera huiusmodi. Unde apparet manifeste quod omnes Cathari sine confessione moriuntur in peccatis suis.

1. manum add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. communiter: e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

3. Item de venialibus fit confessio hoc modo add. R.S.

4. ante: h,A (cf. R.S.); contra: d,s,u; circa: other Ps-R. mss. with exception of a,b,q,y,cc.

et hoc modo confitentur ipsi tantum semel in mense si commode possunt. Sequitur de satisfactione Catharorum. Ubi videndum¹ est si Cathari faciunt opera sua pro satisfactione peccatorum que, priusquam² profitentur suam sectam, commiserunt. Ad quod breviter dico quod non, licet ignorantibus forte³ hoc mirabile videatur. Nam frequenter orant, ieiunant, et abstinent omni tempore a carnibus, ovis, et caseo, que omnia videntur⁴ opera satisfactoria pro peccatis eorum, de quibus ipsi sepe inaniter gloriantur. Sed est triplex error in eis qui facit predicta opera non esse satisfactoria. Primus est quod culpa et pena totaliter huiusmodi dimittitur per eorum manus impositionem et orationem, vel per orationem⁵ tantum iuxta⁶ Albanenses sicut supra dictum est. Secundus est quod deus nulli infert penam

1. Nunc dicendum: A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. postquam: m,u,w,bb,dd.

3. ad sororem (p. 63)...forte om. c (one line obliterated in place of missing passage).

4. esse add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

5. vel per orationem om. A,B.

6. secundum: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,cc.

purgatoriam, quam penitus esse negant, neque temporalem, quam a dyabolo inferri putant in hac vita. Hec est etiam causa quare ipsi non injungunt abstinentiam predictam alicui in penitentiam¹ vel in remissionem peccatorum suorum.² Tertius est quod omnis homo tenetur necessario facere illa opera tanquam precepta dei. Ita enim puer decem annorum qui nullum unquam omnino³ mortale peccatum commiserat antequam fieret Catharus punitur sicut senex qui⁴ nunquam a peccato cessaverat. Non enim gravius puniretur Catharus aliquis apud eos si biberet toxicum volens se ipsum occidere, quam si⁵ pro morte vitanda comederet pullum de consilio medicine vel in alio casu⁶ necessitatis, nec etiam in futuro gravius puniretur secundum eos. Item etiam dicunt de matrimonio

1. penitentiam abstinentie alicui nec in penitentiam: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
2. instead of hec est...suorum: Hinc etiam dicendum est quod praedicta opera non iniunguntur eis cum fiunt Cathari in paenitentiam sive in remissionem peccatorum suorum: R.S.
3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
4. multo tempore add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (q,cc: multo nunquam peccato; h, multum peccato).
5. qui; all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
6. aliqua causa: m,u,w,bb,dd.

sicut supra dictum est. Item elemosinas paucas vel nullas faciunt; nullas¹ extraneis nisi forte propter scandalum vicinorum suorum vitandum et ut honorificentur ab² eis; paucas etiam faciunt³ suis pauperibus et est duplex⁴ causa.⁵ Prima⁶ est quod⁷ non sperant inde habere maiorem gloriam in futuro, nec suorum veniam peccatorum. Secunda est quod fere omnes sunt avarissimi et tenaces.⁸ Sequitur de oratione Catharorum. Hanc maxime putant necessarium esse quando ipsi⁹ sumunt cibum vel potum. Igitur¹⁰ multi ex eis in suis infirmitatibus dixerunt aliquando illis, qui eis ministrabant, quod non ponerent aliquid cibi vel potus in os eorum si illi infirmi non possent dicere ad minus: Pater noster. Unde verisimile est quod multi ex eis occiderunt hoc modo se ipsos et a

1. om. a,b,c,d,f,m,n,s,u,w,x,y,bb,dd; deleted: e.
2. pro: a,d,y; ab eis om. b.
3. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
4. triplex: R.S.
5. instead of et...causa: elemosinas propter duas causas: k,l.
6. Quarum prima: A,B. Cf. R.S.
7. se add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,d,h,m,q,u,y,cc.
8. et est causa quod pauperes eorum qui tempore perfeccionis non habent victum necessaria vel ea quibus valeant restaurare suis receptoribus res et domos que pro eis destruuntur vix possunt invenire aliquem qui velit eos recipere. Sed divites Cathari multos recipiunt quod quilibet eos si potest divicias sibi congregat et reservat add. A,B. Cf. R.S. De oratione Katharorum (heading) add. e,p.
9. instead of Hanc...ipsi: Preterea non est pretermittendum de oratione illorum quando ipsi putant eam necessariam esse et maxime quando: A,B. Cf. R.S.
10. Siquidem: A,B. Cf. R.S.

suis cohereticis sunt occisi.¹ Ex premissis patet apertissime quod Cathari nullam faciunt penitentiam, maxime cum non habeant contritionem de peccatis, neque confiteantur ea, neque pro eis satisfaciant, quamvis multum se affligant et quod pro suis erroribus et peccatis in eternum² gravissime punientur.³ Sequitur⁴ de quarto⁵ sacramento Catharorum, scilicet de ordine. Circa quod nota quinque.⁶ Primo quot ordines habeant. Secundo de nominibus eorum. Tertio de officio cuiusque ordinis. Quarto et quinto⁷ quomodo et a quibus fiant. Ultimo⁸ addatur quot et ubi sunt ecclesie eorum Catharorum. Primo ergo nota quod⁹ ordines Catharorum sunt quatuor. Ille qui est in primo et maxime ordine vocatur episcopus. Ille qui in secundo,¹⁰ filius

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1. et...occisi om. R.S.
 2. extremis: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (cc,q, extremum).
 3. De ordinibus Katharorum (heading) add. e; de ordine Catharorum (in margin) add. d.
 4. Nunc dicendum est: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 5. et ultimo add. A,B. Cf. R.S.
 6. Circa...quinque om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
 7. et quinto om. all Ps-R. mss. except h,q,cc (a,b,d, et only).
 8. quinto: d,k,l,m,s,u,w,aa,bb.
 9. Primo...quod om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
 10. vocatur add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d.

maior. Qui in tertio, filius minor. Qui in quarto et ultimo, dicitur dyaconus. Ceteri qui sunt sine ordinibus inter eos vocantur christiani et christiane. De secundo nota quod¹ officium episcopi est semper tenere prioratum in omnibus que faciunt, scilicet in impositione manus, in fractione panis, et in incipiendo orare. Idem² servat³ filius maior⁴ absente episcopo; similiter facit filius minor absente episcopo et filio maiore. Preterea isti duo filii simul vel separatim discurrunt visitare⁵ omnes Catharos qui sunt sub episcopo et omnes tenentur eis obedire. Similiter faciunt et servant⁶ in omnibus dyacones et unusquisque in suis subditis absentibus episcopo et filiis. Et nota etiam⁷ quod episcopus et filii habent in singulis civitatibus⁸ in

1. De...quod om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
2. instead of idem: que quidem: all Ps-R.mss. except a,b,d (h, vel qui dum).
3. fuerit, h,k,l; observat: y,cc.
4. om. A,B.
5. visitando: A,B. Cf. R.S.
6. instead of et servant: qui fuerunt: k,l.
7. instead of Et...etiam: Est notandum: A,B. Cf. R.S.
8. maxime add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

quibus morantur¹ singulos dyacones. Item nota quod² officium dyaconorum est audire confessiones venialium peccatorum que fiunt semel in mense, sicut supra dictum est, et subditis suis facere absolutionem injungendo eis tribus diebus ieiunium vel centum inclinationes flexis genibus; et appellatur illud officium³, ut ita loquor, caregare servicium.⁴

Fiunt vero ordines predicti ab episcopo et etiam a filiis de licentia episcopi.⁵ Ordinatio autem episcopi consueverat fieri in hunc modum: mortuo episcopo filius minor ordinabat filium maiorem in episcopum, et iste postea ordinabat filium minorem in filium maiorem. Post eligebatur filius minor ab omnibus prelatiis et subditis qui erant ad hoc congregati

1. Cathari add. A,B. Cf. R.S.
2. nota quod om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
3. istud servitium: R.S.
4. officium, f,ee. Ordinatio episcopi antiqua (heading) add. g,ff.
5. Ordinacio episcopi (heading) add. n; De ordinacione episcopi Katharorum (heading) add. k,l.

et ab episcopo ordinabatur in filium minorem, et hec ordinatio filii minoris non est mutata inter eos. Illa vero que supra dicitur de episcopo mutata est ab omnibus Catharis manentibus¹ circa² mare, dicentibus quod per talem ordinationem videtur quod filius instituat patrem³, quod satis apparet incongruum. Unde fit modo aliter in hac forma: ante mortem enim suam episcopus ordinat filium maiorem in episcopum, et sic maior filius fit episcopus, minor vero filius fit maior, eadem die⁴, et ita fere quelibet ecclesia Catharorum semper^{5a} habet duos episcopos. Unde Iohannes de Lugduno qui est unus de illis taliter ordinatis in suis epistolis se sic describit: Iohannes de Lugduno dei gratia filius maior et ordinatus episcopus, et cetera. Sed utraque ordinatio

1. morantibus: A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. citra: R.S.

3. filius instituat patrem ut videtur: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

4. instead of et sic...die: et alter istorum filius maior et minor, maior [fit?] episcopus, minor fit maior, eadem die: A,B. Cf. R.S. : altero istorum mortuo, filius minor efficitur filius maior et episcopus eadem die.

5. recte Lugio. Cf. R.S.

2. Johannes de Lugio (Luglio), bishop of the Cathar church of Desenzano, c. 1250 (cf. Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie", Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, XX (Rome, 1950) 286-87).

manifeste reprehensibilis est, quia nec filius carnalis¹ unquam suum instituit genitorem et etiam nusquam legitur quod una eademque ecclesia eodem tempore duos habuit episcopos, sicut nec una mulier duos legitimos viros. Fiunt autem omnes supradicti ordines cum impositione manus, et attribuitur illa gratia, scilicet conferendi ordines memoratos et dandi spiritum sanctum, soli episcopo eorum vel qui maior² est alii³ et auctor⁴ in tenendo librum novi testamenti super caput illius cui imponitur manus. Nota insuper quod⁵ omnes Cathari in maximo laborant dubio et periculo anime. Verbi gratia si prelatus eorum et maxime episcopus occulte commiserit aliquod mortale peccatum, quales etiam multi olim reperti sunt inter eos, omnes illi⁶

1. om. A,B.

2. minor: a,b,d,y: prior: R.S.

3. om. c,e,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.

4. actor, interpolated above: h; actor, altered to auctor: y.

5. instead of Nota...quod: Proinde: A,B. Cf. R.S.

6. quibus add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.

quibus ipse¹ manum imponit fiunt decepti et pereunt si in eo statu decedunt. Etiam causa huius periculi vitandi omnes ecclesie Catharorum, una excepta solummodo vel duabus, receperunt secundo et aliquo² ^[tercio] consolamentum, id est manus impositionem, quod est baptismum eorum ut supra dicitur, et de predictis est fama publica inter eos.

De ecclesiis Catharorum xviii³

Sunt autem xvi omnes ecclesie Catharorum. Nec imputes mihi, o lector, quod eas appello ecclesias, sed potius eis, que se ita vocant. Quarum nomina sunt hec:⁴ Ecclesia Albanensis vel de Desenzano, Ecclesia de Concorezo, Ecclesia Bagnolensium sive de Bagnolo, Ecclesia Vincentina sive de Marchia, Ecclesia Florentina, Ecclesia de Valle Spoletana,

1. episcopus: q, cc.

2. tercio add. A, B. Cf. R. S.

3. heading as in a, b, d, y (xviii om. y); other headings: Numerus ecclesiarum: c; De nominibus ecclesiarum hereticorum latinorum: g, n, ee, ff; De nominibus ecclesiarum latinorum: j; De numero ecclesiarum Katharorum: k, l; De nominibus ecclesiarum Katharorum: r; no heading: e, f, h, i, q, t, x, aa, cc, A, B.

4. Quarum...hec om. R. S.

- a. In this list the order observed is the Italian, followed by the French, then the Balkan and Eastern Churches. The location of these heretic churches has been discussed by numerous scholars, notably by A. Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen, pp. 62-63, and "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie", Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, XX (Rome, 1950) pp. 281-84. The following identifications of those churches presenting difficulty have been suggested: Ecclesia de Desenzano - from Desenzana sul Lago in the province of Brescia (the alternative Albanensis is obscure but may be derived from the personal name Albanus); Ecclesia de Concorezo - from Concorezzo near Monza, north east of Milan; Ecclesia de Bagnolo - from Bagnolo San Vito, south east of Mantua; Ecclesia Sclavonie - situated in Bosnia; Ecclesia Philadelfie in Romania - probably from Philadelphia in Lydia; Ecclesia Dugrunicie (there are many variants of this name which has been described by Dondaine as "la croix des historiens du catharisme") - connected possibly either with an area west of Sofia or with a part of Macedonia not far from Salonica (the problems concerning this name are fully discussed in the light of the conflicting views of other scholars by D. Obolensky, The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism (Cambridge, 1948) pp. 157-63).

Ecclesia Francie, Ecclesia Tolosana, Ecclesia Carthasensis¹,
 Ecclesia Albizensis², Ecclesia Sclavonie, Ecclesia Latinorum
 de Constantinopoli, Ecclesia Grecorum ibidem, Ecclesia
 Philadelfie in³ Romaniola⁴, Ecclesia Bulgarie⁵, Ecclesia
 Dugrunicie⁶; et omnes originem habuerunt a duabus ultimis⁷.
 Primi, scilicet Albanenses, morantur Verone et in pluribus
 civitatibus Lombardie et sunt numero fere quingenti
 utriusque sexus. Illi autem de Concorezo diffusi sunt
 fere⁸ per totam Lombardiam et sunt utriusque sexus bene⁹
 m. d.¹⁰ vel etiam plures. Bagnolenses morantur Mantue, Brixii,
 Pargami¹¹, et in comitatu Mediolanensium sed pauci, et in
 Romaniola, et sunt fere cc^{ti}. Ecclesia de Marchia nichil
 habent¹² Verone sed sunt circiter c.l.¹³ Ecclesia Tolosana

1. Carcassonensis: R.S.
2. Albigensis: R.S.
3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
4. Romania: A,B. Cf. R.S.
5. Bulgane puto Bulgarie k,l.
6. Dugunthiae: R.S.
7. Nota ubi morentur add. k,l.
8. om. f,i,j,ee.
9. om. R.S.
10. m. d. om. k,l (space left); m. only: n,aa.
11. Bergami: R.S.
12. habet: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,g. Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen, p.70, suggests the emendation: Ecclesia de Marchia morantur Vicentiae sed nichil habent Veronae.
13. et sunt circiter C. Illi de Tuscia et de Valle Spoletana fere C. Ecclesia Franciae morantur Veronae et in Lombardia, et sunt circiter CL: R.S.

et Albigensis et Carthasensis¹ cum quibusdam que olim fuerunt ut Ecclesia Anzinensis², que fere destructa est, sunt fere cc^{ti}.³ Ecclesia Latinorum in Constantinopoli sunt fere l. Item Ecclesia Sclavonie, Grecorum, Philadelfie, Bulgarie, et Dugrunicie omnes simul⁴ quingenti. O lector, dicas secure quod in toto mundo⁵ non⁶ sunt Cathari utriusque sexus llll^{or} milia, sed credentes innumeri⁷, et dicta computatio pluries olim facta est inter eos.

De opinionibus ecclesie Albanensis xix⁸

Sequitur de propriis opinionibus Catharorum et primo⁹ de Ecclesia Albanensi, qui alio modo dicuntur¹⁰ de Desenzano,¹¹ eo quod errant in pluribus quam ceteri Cathari.¹² Primo igitur notabiliter sciendum est quod isti Albanenses divisi sunt

1. et Carthasensis om. q,cc; Carcassonensis: R.S.
2. Agennensis: R.S.
3. ccc^{ti}: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
4. fere add. A,B. Cf. R.S.
5. om. A,B.
6. om. k,l.
7. scilicet credentes only: k,l; sed credentes innumeri om. R.S.
8. heading as in a,b,d,y (xix om. y); other headings: Ulterius nota: c; Opiniones Katharorum: g,n,ff; De propriis opinionibus: k,j; Nota secundum ad idem: r; Opiniones proprie Catharorum: ee; no heading: e,f,h,i,l,q,t,x,aa,cc,A,B.
9. instead of Sequitur...primo: Supra ostensum (A, dictum) est de omnibus opinionibus et sacramentis sive misteriis Catharorum a modo dicendum est de propriis et primo: A,B. Cf. R.S.: Supra ostensum est de communibus opinionibus et sacramentis sive de ministris Catharorum. Ammodo dicendum est de propriis. Et primo...
10. alio modo dicuntur nomine: A,B. Cf. R.S.: alio nomine dicuntur.
11. om. q.
12. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

in duas partes in opinionibus contrariis et diversis. Unius partis caput est Gelesmanza¹ Veronensis eorum episcopus, et hunc secuntur plurimi antiquiores et pauci iuvenes eius secte. Alterius vero secte² caput est Iohannes de Lugduno Pargamensis, eorum filius maior et ordinatus episcopus, et hunc secuntur e converso iuniores et pauci antiquiores, et ista pars satis est maior quam prima. Prima pars tenet opiniones antiquas quas omnes Cathari Albanenses habebant in annis domini currentibus m^occ^oxxx^o.³ Itaque opiniones istorum, preter communes supra scriptas, sunt iste, scilicet quod sunt duo principia ab eo,⁴ videlicet boni et mali. Item quod trinitas, scilicet pater, filius, et spiritus sanctus, non est unus deus sed quod pater maior est filio et spiritu sancto.

1. The G is an error for B (Belemanza: k,l; Balasinansa: R.S.). See Dondaine, La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, p.286, for an account of this Cathar bishop.
2. partis: A,B. Cf. R.S.
3. m.cc.xx: i,j; m.cc.cccc: aa; MCC usque ad annos currentes M.CCXXX: R.S.
4. a deo: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc; ab eterno: R.S.

Item quod utrumque principium, sive uterque deus, creavit angelos suos et suum mundum et quod iste mundus est creatus, factus, et formatus, a malo deo et omnia que in eo sunt. Item dyabolus cum suis angelis ascendit in celum et facto ibidem prelio cum Mychahele archangelo^[et] angelus¹^[sic] boni dei extraxit inde tertiam partem creaturarum dei, et infundit eas cottidie in humanis corporibus et brutis et etiam de uno corpore in aliud, donec dicte creature reducantur in celum. Vocantur autem iste dei creature secundum eos "populus dei" et "anime", atque "oves domus Israel" et etiam aliis nominibus. Item quod filius dei non assumpsit humanam naturam in veritate sed eius similem ex beata virgine quam dicunt fuisse angelum. Et quod non vere comedit nec bibit nec vere passus est

1. om. c,f,i,x,y,ee; et angelus: A,B; et angelis: R.S.

nec mortuus nec sepultus nec eius resurrectio vera fuit, sed quod hec omnia¹ fuerunt putative, sicut de eo legitur Luce:
 „² Ut putaretur, filius Ioseph. Similiter de omnibus miraculis que³ Christus fecit. Item quod Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob, Moyses³ et ceteri⁴ patres antiqui, et beatus Iohannes baptista, fuerunt inimici dei et ministri dyaboli. Item quod dyabolus fuerit auctor totius veteris testamenti exceptis hiis libris, videlicet Iob, Psalterio, libris Salomonis, Sapientie, filii Syrach, Ysaie, Ieremie, Ezechielis, Danielis, et xii prophetarum, quorum quosdam estimant scriptos⁵ fuisse in celo, illos scilicet qui fuerunt scripti ante destructionem Ierusalem, quam credunt etiam esse celestem. Item quod mundus iste nunquam habebit finem. Item quod iudicium futurum iam factum

1. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
2. ipse add. A,B.
3. et Aaron add. e,g,ff.
4. plures add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,n,y.
5. scriptores: a,b,d,y.

a. Luc. 3, 23.

est nec amplius fiet. Item quod infernus et ignis eternus sive pene eterne sunt in isto mundo et¹ non alibi. Siquidem predictas opiniones tenebant omnes Albanenses generaliter in predicto tempore exceptis simplicioribus quibus singula non revelabantur.² Opiniones vero predicti Iohannis de Lugduno et sequentium eum hic inferius describuntur. Primo autem sciendum quod idem Iohannes adhuc tenet aliquas opiniones predictarum, quasdam etiam penitus mutavit in peius, et etiam³ errores addidit novos quod ipse finxit, sicut in sequentibus apparebit.⁴ Fingit itaque sepe dictus Iohannes duo esse principia sive deos vel⁵ dominos⁶ ab eterno, unum scilicet boni et alterum mali, sed diversimode⁷ quam primi ut infra apparebit. Trinitatem vero et unitatem iuxta fidem Catholicam

1. mundo tantum: A,B. Cf. R.S.
2. Opiniones Iohannis de lugduno (heading) add. j; Errores Iohannis de Lugduno (heading) add. c,r,ee.
3. instead of et etiam: nec non: A,B. Cf. R.S.
4. instead of in...apparebit: ut subsequenter apparet: A,B. Cf. R.S.
5. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
6. deos [sic]: h,cc; sive deos duos: all other Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,q,y; sive dii vel domini: R.S.
7. magis add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

in deo penitus esse negat. Primum principium mali, iuxta¹ quod ipse dicit, vocatur in divinis scripturis multis nominibus. Dicitur enim malitia, cupiditas, iniquitas, impietas, peccatum, superbia, mors, infernus, calumpnia, vanitas, iniustitia, perditio, confusio, corruptio, et fornicacio. Dicit etiam quod omnia supra dicta vitia sunt dii vel dee, et quod habent suum esse a malitia quam asserit esse primam causam, et quod ipsa causa prima aliquando significatur per predicta vitia. Preterea dicit quod malum principium notatur per linguam de qua dicit beatus Iacobus: "Que est malum inquietum et plena veneno mortifero."^a Similiter per diem de quo ait dominus in ewangelio: "Sufficit diei malitia sua."^b Item notatur² per illud verbum apostoli, Corinthios ii: "Est et non."^c Item

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1. secundum: c,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee; om. e,h,k,l,q,cc; sicut (quod om.) f,g,n,ff.
 2. malitia add. t,ff.

a. Jac. 3,8. b. Matth. 6,34. c. II Cor. 1, 18-19.

vocatur¹ Seyr², de quo in Ezechiele dicitur: "Eo quod fueris inimicus sempiternus domini.^a Item dicitur venter, de quo ait Apostolus: "Quorum deus venter est.^b Preterea dicit quod ydola gentilium³ que leguntur per totam seriem veteris testamenti naturaliter sunt dii mali, id est maligni spiritus, et quod ipsi gentiles faciebant ymagines ipsorum ut eos magis colerent. Multa alia idem⁴ Iohannes scripsit de scripturis⁵ vitiis et ydolis ut suos errores conaretur asserere que tedium esset mihi scribere.⁶

De erroribus Iohannis de Lugduno xx⁷

Sequitur dicere quid idem Iohannes credat⁸ de creatione rerum omnium visibilium et invisibilium. Et primo quid sit creare. Secundo si creature facte sint ex nichilo vel create. Tertio

1. mons add. R.S.

2. Steyer: c,f,i,j,x,ee.

3. gentium: R.S.

4. ibidem: g,k,l.

5. scriptis: k,l.

6. Plura tedium est mihi scribere que dictus Iohannes scripsit de scripturis vitiis et ydolis ut suos asserere conaretur errores: A,B. Cf. R.S.: Quid plura? Tedium est mihi scribere multa fabulosa quae dictus Iohannes scripsit de praedictis vitiis et idolis ut suos asserere conaretur errores.

7. heading as in a,b,d,y (xx om. b; capitulum xix: a); other headings: Errores Iohannis: c; Item errores Iohannis de Lugduno: j,r; De erroribus Iohannis de Lugduno: n,ff; Errores Iohannis de Lugduno: ee; no heading: e,f,g,h,i,k,l,q,t,x,aa,cc,A,B.

8. Consequenter dicendum est quod credat dictus Iohannes: A,B. Cf. R.S.

a. Ezech. 35,5. b. Philip 3, 19.

utrum creature boni dei¹ fuerint create bone et simpliciter et pure sine aliqua malitia. Quarto si fuerit unquam in aliquo² libertas arbitrii. De primo nota quod³ secundum eum creare est aliquid ex preiacenti aliqua⁴ materia facere et sic semper sumit et non ex nichilo. Et distinguit creare simpliciter⁵. Primo de bono in melius, et secundum hanc distinctionem Christus fuit a patre creatus sive factus. Unde illud Ysaie: "Ego dominus creavi eum."² Et apostolus: "Pontifex factus est in eternum."^b Secundo dicitur creare de

1. om. f,g,n,t,ee,ff.

2. in aliquo om. A,B.

3. De...quod om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

4. om. a,b,d,f,i,j,y,ee; aliquid all other Ps-R. mss. except c,h,k,l,q,r,t,x,aa,cc.

5. tripliciter: R.S.

a. Is. 43,7.

b. Hebr. 6,20.

malo in bonum¹, iuxta illud apostoli: "Ipsius enim sumus
 factura, creati in Christo Ihesu;^a et dicitur Genesis iii:² "In
 principio creavit deus celum et terram.^b Quod sic exponit:²
 In principio, hoc est in Christo, qui ait: "Ego principium
 qui et loquor vobis.^c Et dicit expresse idem Iohannes quod
 tunc³ deus pater creavit ita celum et terram non ex nichilo
 sed ex aliquo in Christo⁴ ad aliquod bonum, sicut dicit apostolus:
 "Creati in Christo in operibus suis.^d Tertio dicit quod creare est
 ex malo in peius aliquid⁵ facere, ad quod inducit illud in
 codice in titulo De hereticis et Manicheis: Omnes vetite
 legibus divinis et imperialibus constitutionibus hereses,
 et cetera usque: et ministros creare qui [sic] non sunt.^e Dicit
 itaque quod omnes creature sunt ab eterno bone create^b cum bono
 deo^f et quod creatores non precedant creaturas eternitate

1. bono in malum: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc;
 melius: f,ee.
2. exponitur all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
3. Ego...tunc om. a,b,d,y.
4. in Christo om. g,n,ff,R.S. id est Christo: c,e,f,i,j,k,
 l,r,t,x,aa,ee; Ego...Christo om. h.
5. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
6. ~~Codex Justinianus, Digesta, De haereticis et Manicheis,
 I.5.2, in Corpus iuris civilis, (Berlin, 1892) II, p.50
 (Dondaine, Un traité néo-manichéen, p.73).~~
67. creature; A,B. Cf. R.S.
78. et malae cum malo deo add. R.S.

- a. Ephes. 2,10. b. Gen. 1,1. c. Joh. 8, 25. d. Ephes. 2,10.
 e. Codex Iustinianus, De haereticis et Manichaeis I.5.2
 (Corpus iuris civilis, ed. Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1944) II, p.51).

sed causa et natura, et quod creatura exit¹ a deo ab eterno sicut splendor vel radii a sole qui non precedit radios suos tempore, sed tantum causa vel natura. Item dicit quod iste mundus est a dyabolo vel potius a patre dyaboli² et quod nunquam habuit principium nec finem habeat. Item intelligit quod bonus deus habeat alterum mundum in quo sint homines et animalia et omnis similia istis visibilibus et corruptibilibus creaturis, et quod ibidem fiunt coniugia, fornicationes, et adulteria, ex quibus procreantur infantes et, quod etiam turpius est, quod populus boni dei contra preceptum eius duxerunt aliquando filias alienigenas in uxores, id est filias dei alieni, sive deorum malorum, et ex tali coitu inhonesto et prohibito nati sunt gigantes et multi alii diversis temporibus. Nunc dicendum est si deus

1. om. h; erit: c,i,j,k,l,n,q,r,t,x,cc; erat: e,f,g,aa,ee,ff.

2. factus add. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.

bonus creavit suas creaturas puras sine malitia, secundum eum. Ad hec premittende sunt multe blasphemie quas¹ idem Iohannes dicit. Dicit² enim³ quod deus non sit omnipotens. Dicit tamen quod deus potest et vult omnia bona quantum in se est et in suis creaturis que sibi necessario obtemperant; sed impeditur hec dei voluntas et potentia ab hoste suo. Item dicit quod alteruter agit in alterutrum ab eterno, et causa mala⁴, id est deus malus, agit in deum verum⁵ et in eius filium atque in cuncta opera eius ab eterno. Et ad hoc inducit multas auctoritates sicut est illud verbum domini ad Sathan in Iob: "Tu autem commovisti me adversus Iob ut affligerem ipsum frustra; et iterum Iob ad dominum: "Mutatus es michi in crudelem." Item dicit quod ille qui est summus in malo plus potest quam dei

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1. nam: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y: om. h,q,cc.
 2. om. all
 3. instead of dicit enim: videlicet: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 4. mali: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 5. malum: k,l.

a. Job. 2,3. b. Job 30,21.

filius Ihesus Christus et¹ quam creatura² boni dei. Et e
 converso dicit quod summum bonum plus potest quam omnia
 que infra summum deum sunt in malo.³ Unde ex premissis
 concludit⁴ quod bonus deus non potuit perfectas creaturas
 suas facere⁵ quamvis hoc voluerit, et hoc sibi et creaturis
 accidit propter resistantiam mali dei qui actum suum malum
 sive quandam malitiam ab eterno inseruit in eas, ex qua
 malitia creature habuerunt posse peccare. Et ad hoc inducit
 illud Ecclesiastici: "Qui potuit transgredi et non est
 transgressus facere malum et non fecit: quod totum⁶ simpliciter
 exponit de Christo. Et illud Iob: "In angelis suis reperit
 pravitatem. Et iterum: Stelle non sunt munde, et cetera.
 Et illud⁷ Genesis: "Serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus

1. quam...et om. R.S.

2. creature: A,B. Cf. R.S.

3. dicit quod ille qui est summus in malo plus potest quam
 creaturae quae sunt infra summum deum in bono: R.S.

4. concluditur: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.

5. om. A,B.

6. tamen: a,b,d,y.

7. In principio add. A,B.

a. Eccli. 31, 10. b. Job 4, 18. c. Job 25, 5.

que fecerat deus.² Et Iudeus¹ ^[sic] sic infert, igitur cuncta animantia calliditatem participant et plus omnibus serpens, et ideo perfecta² est deceptio. Ad predictam etiam facit illud³ quod ipse dicit, scilicet quod nichil est quod habeat liberum arbitrium, etiam summus deus, qui ut supra dictum est non potest perficere suam voluntatem propter resistantiam hostis sui. Item dicit quod omnis creatura boni dei duxit⁴ predictam potentiam peccandi ad actum decepta⁵ errore, qui inde etiam dicit deum summum in malo, sed de Christo dicit quod fuit in eo illa potentia peccandi, sive vis transgressionis ita oppressa per summum bonum quod⁶ caruit suo effectum, quod mirabile et insolitum fuit in⁷ Christo. Ideoque laudabilis est, sicut de eo dicitur Sapientie: "Quis est iste et

1. inde: R.S.

2. per eum facta: R.S.

3. aliud: B. Cf. R.S.

4. iuxta: A,B.

5. decepto: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,n,q,y,cc.

6. ut: A,B. Cf. R.S.

7. ipsi: R.S.

2. Gen. 3,1.

laudabimus eum,^a et cetera. Et quod alie creature boni dei vituperabiles¹ extiterunt. Ad hoc autem inducit illud apostoli:^b Vanitati creatura subiecta est etiam non volens;^c et iterum: "Scimus quod omnis² creatura ingemiscit", et cetera.^c Item dicit quod quando deus infert penam creaturis suis pro culpis tunc agit malum, nec conversatur secundum deum, ymo servit³ adversario suo. Item dicit quod cum deus dicit:^d "Ego sum et non est alius deus; et iterum: "Videte quod ego sum et cetera;^e et similia, duplicando, tunc movetur ab adversario. Deus enim verus tantum semel loquitur et id ipsum non repetit sicut legitur in Iob iii.^f Item dicit quod deus non⁴ prescit⁵ aliquod malum⁶ ex vi sue essentie⁷ quia non fluit⁸ ab eo, sed prescit illud aliquando per adversarium suum.

1. irrecuperabiles: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.
2. instead of creatura...omnis: enim: A,B.
3. similis add. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa.
4. om. A,B.
5. possit: all Ps-R. mss. except b,d,y (a, poscit).
6. aliquod malum om. c,f,i,j,x,ee.
7. ex sui (sua, c,i,j,k,l,x) natura (r, genera) seu essentia: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,q,y,cc (h, ex vi sue potencie ex errore); sciencie: R.S.; essencie: M.D.
8. fuit: f,g,r,ff.

- a. Eccl. 31,9. b. Rom. 8, 20. c. Rom 8, 22. d. 16. 45,22.
e. Deut. 32,39. f. Job 33, 14.

Item credit quod deus verus propter peccata creaturarum
 suarum induxit diluvium et destruxit Pentapolim et subvertit
 Ierusalem, et, ut breviter dicam, omnia mala predicta et que
 passus est populus Israel in Iudea sive in terra promissionis
 intulit eis verus deus motus ab adversario suo¹ propter
 peccata que ipsi fecerunt, sicut ipse Iohannes de Lugduno ait.
 Putat etiam omnia predicta facta fuisse in quodam altero
 mundo boni dei. Item credit quod anime dei² transmittantur de
 corpore in corpus et quod omnes in fine liberabuntur a pena
 et a culpa. Item idem Iohannes recipit³ totam bibliam sed
 putat eam⁴ fuisse in ⁵ alio mundo, et ibidem fuisse formatos
 Adam et Evam. Item credit quod Noe, Abraham, Ysaac, Iacob,
 et ceteri patriarche, et⁶ omnes prophete, et Iohannes baptista

1. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

2. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,e,h,k,n,y.

3. excipit: A,B.

4. scriptam add. R.S.

5. fuisse scriptam ab: A,B.; scriptam fuisse in: R.S.

6. Moyses et Iosue et add. R.S.

placuerunt deo bono et quod fuerunt homines in alio mundo.¹
 Item dicit quod Christus natus est secundum carnem ex
 predictis antiquis patribus,² et quod vere assumpsit carnem
 ex beata virgine,³ et quod vere passus est, crucifixus,⁴ mortuus,
 et sepultus, et quod resurrexit tertia die, sed putat quod
 hec omnia facta fuerunt in alio superiori mundo et non in
 isto. Item dicit quod in eodem mundo⁵ totum genus humanum
 incurrit⁶ mortem propter peccatum cui obedivit. Item peccatum
 ab eodem Iohanne appellatur principium et causa omnium
 malorum ut sepe dictum est supra, et corporibus illorum
 ibidem sepultis⁷ anime eorum descenderunt⁸ in infernum, id est
 in hunc mundum, et ad hunc infernum⁹ descendit Christus post
 mortem¹⁰ ut auxiliaretur eis. Item credit quod ibidem fiat

1. fuerunt in alio mundo omnes: k,l.
2. secundum carnem ex patribus antiquis supranominatos: A,B.:
 ex patribus secundum carnem antiquis supranominatos: R.S.
3. et quod...virgine om. k,l.
4. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
5. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,y; et non...mundo om. A,B.
6. in add. A,B.
7. et add. A,B.
8. necessario add. R.S.
9. id est...infernum om. A,B.
- 10n post mortem om. R.S.

resurrectio mortuorum scilicet quod¹ unaqueque anima dei recipiet proprium corpus. Item dicit quod verus deus in eodem mundo dedit populo supradicto legem Moysi. Ibidem etiam offerebant hostias et holocausta sacerdotes pro peccatis populi, que secundum legem Moysi precipiuntur offerri. Item dicit quod in eodem loco² Christus ad literam vere fecit miracula, suscitando mortuos, illuminando cecos, pascendo de quinque panibus³ quinque milia hominum, scilicet⁴ virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis. Quid plura? Quicquid legitur in tota biblia factum⁵ fuisse in hoc mundo ipse in quodam alio mundo ad literam⁶ fuisse convertit. Igitur blasphemias et errores predictas, et multos alios quod longum esset et michi tedium enarrare, finxit idem⁷ Iohannes de

1. quando: a,b,d,h,q,y,cc; om. k,l.

2. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

3. ordeacis add. A,B. Cf. R.S.

4. hominum scilicet om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

5. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.

6. factum add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,aa,cc.

7. sepe dictus: A,B. Cf. R.S.

Lugduno heresiarcha et ex eis compilavit quoddam magnum
volumen x quaternorum cuius exemplum ego¹ Reinherus² perlegi
et ex illo omnes³ supradictos errores extraxi. Est etiam
valde notandum quod ipse⁴ Iohannes et complices suis⁵ non audent
revelare errores predictos credentibus suis ne ipsi credentes
discedant ab eis propter hos novos errores et propter
divisionem⁶ que horum causa est inter Catharos⁷ Albanenses.
Cathari Albanenses⁸ dampnant⁹ Concorezenses et e converso.
De propriis opinionibus Catharorum ecclesie Concorezensis xxi¹⁰
Sequitur de propriis opinionibus Catharorum¹¹ ecclesie
Concorezensis.¹² Isti bene sentiunt de uno principio tantum,
sed multi ex eis errant in trinitate et unitate. Item
confitentur quod deus ex nichilo creavit angelos et iii^{or}

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1. om. n (NB is written in margin, by this sentence, in another hand).
 2. ego Reinherus om. A,B. Cf. R.S.: cuius exemplarium habeo et perlegi.
 3. om. A,B. Cf. R.S.
 4. dictus: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 5. eius complices: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 6. seu diversitatem add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 7. et add. g,n,ff.
 8. Cathari Albanenses om. i,j,k,l; quia Cathari et Albanenses: all other Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 9. dampnantes: k,l.
 10. heading as in a,d (xx: a; De propriis opinionibus ecclesie Concodocensis: b; Sequitur de propriis opinionibus Catharorum: y); other headings: Opiniones Concorisensium: c; Opiniones Conchorezensium: g; Opiniones proprie Concorezensis: j,r,t; De propriis opinionibus ecclesie Concorezensis: k; Opiniones Concorezensium: ff; no heading: e,f,h,i,l,n (see below p.97, n.1),q,x,aa,cc,A,B.
 11. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 12. om. A,B.

elementa, sed errant credendo quod dyabolus de licentia dei creavit omnia visibilia sive hunc mundum. Item credunt quod dyabolus primo formavit corpus hominis et in illud infudit primum angelum qui in modico iam peccaverat. Item credunt quod omnes anime extracte sunt a dicto angelo.¹ Item reprobant totum vetus testamentum, putantes quod dyabolus fuit auctor eius exceptis hiis tantummodo verbis que sunt inducta in novo testamento per Christum et apostolos ut est illud: "Ecce virgo concipiet in utero,"^a et cetera similia. Item isti omnes dampnant Moysen et multi ex eis dubitant de Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob et ceteris patriarchis et prophetis. Item multi ex eis modo bene credunt de beato Iohanne baptista quem olim omnes dampnabant. Item dicunt quod Christus non

1. sunt ex traduce ab ipso angelo: R.S.

a. Is. 7, 14.

assumpsit animam humanam sed fere omnes credunt eum
 assumpsisse veram carnem ex beata virgine. Quidam vero
 episcopus eorum et antiquissimus Nazarius nomine¹ coram²
 Reinhero³ et multis aliis pluries dixit quod beata virgo
 fuerit angelus et quod Christus non assumpsit humanam
 naturam sed angelicam sive corpus celeste, et dixit quod
 habuit hunc errorem ab episcopo et filio maiore ecclesie
 Bulgarie iam fere elapsis annis lx. Preterea notandum quod
 omnes Cathari qui confitentur Christum assumpsisse verum⁴
 corpus humanam tamen⁵ negant illud corpus⁶ glorificatum aut⁷
 glorificandum, sed⁸ dicunt quod Christus⁹ deposuerit illud in
 celo aereo in die assumptionis sue¹⁰ et iterum resumet illud
 in die iudicii; quo facto Christi¹¹ corpus resolvetur in

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1. om. A,B. and all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc. Cf. R.S.
 2. me: add. c,f,i,j,r,x.
 3. me: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 4. om. a,b,d,y.
 5. om. A,B.. Cf. R.S.
 6. illud corpus om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa; illud om. e,d,g,k,l,ff.
 7. esse glorificatum: A,B.
 8. et: A,B. Cf. R.S.
 9. in die ascensionis add. R.S.
 10. in...sue om. R.S.
 11. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

preiacentem materiam tanquam cadaver putridum. Item dicunt quod anima beate virginis et apostolorum et omnium sanctorum non sunt adhuc in gloria nec erunt usque in diem iudicii, sed sunt in quodam loco in aere isto cum corpore Ihesu Christi.¹

De propriis opinionibus Catharorum de Bagnolo xxii²

Sequitur de propriis³ opinionibus Catharorum de Bagnolo. Isti conveniunt cum predictis Catharis de Concorezo fere in omnibus opinionibus supradictis exceptis istis, scilicet quod anime create sunt ante mundi constitutionem a deo et tunc etiam peccaverunt. Item credunt⁴ cum predicto Nazario quod beata virgo fuit angelus et quod Christus non assumpsit⁵ naturam ex ea nec vere passus est aliquem dolorem in morte nec vere comedit nec bibit⁶ sed assumpsit corpus celeste.⁷

1. De propriis opinionibus Catharorum ecclesie Concorezensis (p.94)...Christi om. n.
2. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxi: a; de Bagnolo xxii om. b; xxii om. y); other headings: Opiniones proprie Catharorum: c,ee; Opiniones Katharorum: g,ff; De propriis opinionibus hereticorum: e; Opiniones proprie: j,r,t; De distinctione nominum et sectarum: n; no heading: f,h,i,k,l,q,x,aa,cc,A,B.
3. Nunc dicendum est de: A,B. Cf. R.S.
4. credere dicuntur: a,b,d,y.
5. humanam add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc. Cf. R.S.
6. nec vere..bibit om. R.S.
- 7: ut ipsi dicunt add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

De Catharis ecclesie Tolosane et Albanensis et Carthasensis xxiii¹
 Ultimo notandum est quod Cathari ecclesie Tolosane et
 Albanensis² et Carthasensis³ tenent errores Belesmanze⁴ et
 antiquorum Albanensium et omnes ecclesie Catharorum de ultra
 mare quod ultra scripsi similiter. Nulla vero⁵ ecclesia
 Catharorum concordat in omnibus cum Catharis ecclesie de
 Concorezo.⁶ Ecclesia Francie concordat cum Bagnolensibus.
 Illi⁷ vero de Marchia Tervisina Tuscia et de Valle Spoletana
 concordant cum dictis Bagnolensibus in pluribus quam cum
 Albanensibus,⁸ sed paulatim trahuntur ab Albanensibus. Item
 omnes ecclesie Catharorum recipiunt invicem se licet habeant
 diversas opiniones et contrarias, preter Albanenses et
 Concorezenses qui se dampnant ad invicem sicut supra dictum
 est. Si quis vero Catharus sive Cathara, cuiuscunque sit

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxii: a,b; Albanenses Catharenses [sic]: b; et Carthasensis xxiii om. y); other headings: Concordancie ecclesiarum: c,j,r,t,ee; Concordancie hereticorum: g,n,ff; no heading: e,f,h,i,k,l,q,x,aa,cc,A,B.
2. Albigensis: R.S.
3. Carcassonensis: R.S.
4. Belezinansae: R.S.
5. ecclesia Catharorum...vero om. A,B.
6. instead of similiter,..Concorezo: Albanenses vero ecclesie Katharorum concordant in omnibus cum Katharis ecclesie de Concorezo: h.
7. Nulli: c,x.
8. in pluribus...Albanensibus om. f,x,ee.

secte¹, non fuerit confessus prefatos errores, proprios vel saltem communes, tunc de illo dicendum est quod ipse in ypocrisi mendacium loquitur, quod est proprium Catharorum teste apostolo qui hoc de eis sine velamine prophetavit, et nisi fuerit homo simplex vel² noviticus aliis³ in multis illorum secreta⁴ minime revelantur⁵.

1. sexus [sic]: R.S.
2. ut: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,k,l (et: x,cc).
3. alias: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,x,y,cc.
4. secta: ff; sectis: n,aa; sectis illorum secreta: c,f,i,j,t,x,ee.
5. De heresi Leonistarum...follows: R.S.

De Paterinis xxiiii¹

Paterinus dicit² quod minor creator scilicet Lucifer omnia visibilia creavit. Item Paterinus: "Deus huius seculi excecavit mentes infidelium,³ sic ergo dyabolus est creator huius seculi. Contra Catholicus: Excecavit, id est excecari permisit, mentes infidelium.³ Paterinus: Matrimonium dicit esse adulterium. Contra Catholicus: "Alligatus es uxori? noli querere solutionem.⁴ Paterinus: Malus est deus qui apparuit Moysi in igne; noluimus in talem deum credere qui comburat nos.⁴ Contra Catholicus: Idem deus apparuit apostolis in igne. Paterinus dicit mortuis suffragia non prodesse. Contra Catholicus: Martha et Maria pro Lazaro orantes exaudite sunt, ergo pium est pro defunctis exorare. Paterinus dicit nullum peccatum esse veniale sed omnia⁵ mortalia⁶ et

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxiii: a,b; xxiiii om. y); other headings: Errores Paterinorum: c,g,ff; De opinionibus Paterinorum: e; Errores Paterini heretici: j,t; De articulis errorum Paterinorum: k,l; Errores Paterinorum et Manicheorum: n; Errores Paterini: r; Paterini: ee; no heading: f,h,i,q,x,aa,cc,A,B.
2. dicitur idem: a,b,d,y.
3. Cur in Christo sunt condita universa que sunt in celo et in terra visibilis et invisibilis add. A,B.
4. conturbat nos: b,d; vel conturbat nos add. y.
5. om. A,B.
6. mortale: A,B.

a. II Cor. 4,4. b. I Cor. 7,27.

omne: peccatum equaliter puniri in inferno et non in
 purgatorio. Contra Catholicus: Matthei, Tyro et¹ Sidoni
 remissius erit quam vobis in die iudicii, ergo non sunt
 paria peccata² nec equaliter punientur. Heretici nunquam
 faciunt miracula imo³ non credunt miracula ecclesie que in
 ea deus ~~per~~ sanctos suos facit.⁴

1. in: A,B.

2. om. A,B.

3. Miracula nunquam faciunt heretici ideo; A,B.

4. que...facit om. A,B.; Heretici...facit om. all Ps-R.
 mss. except a,b,d,y.

De Manicheis xxv¹

Manichei² furta, rapinas, sacrilegia non dampnant ymo dicunt huiusmodi licere. Matrimonium dampnant dicentes hoc esse iuratoriam fornicationem, sed incestum naturalem cum matre propria, vel sorore, aut commatre dicunt esse mundam fornicationem, dummodo fiat secundum ritum secte qui talis est: si quis ex ipsis³ vult abuti propria matre dabit ei xviii denarios, vi pro eo quod concepit eum, vi pro eo quod peperit eum, vi pro eo quod nutrit eum, et sic soluta lege nature⁴ licenter abutitur ea quia nichil attinere ei putatur, et omnino liber efficitur ab omni naturali reverentia matris sicut saccus liber efficitur a frumento quando fuerit excussum. Qui sorore voluerit abuti dabit ei vi denarios. Qui commatre dabit ei⁵ ix denarios. Sodomiam⁶

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxiiii: a,b; xxv om. y); other headings: Errores Manichei: c,r,t; De opinionibus Manicheorum: e; Errores Manicheorum: g,ff; Nota errores Manichei heretici: j; De articulis Manicheorum: k,l; Manichei: ee; Manichei iiii secta: B; no heading: f,h,i,n,q,x,aa,cc,A.
2. om. A,B.
3. instead of ex ipsis: predictorum: A,B.
4. naturali seu add. f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.
5. om. A,B.
6. Item [sic] : f,i,j,x,ee; om. r,t,aa.

licitam esse dicunt sine omni peccato¹. Aquam benedictam
 tanquam venenum execrantur, dicentes quod si quis hominum
 de ipsorum² secta ea fuerit aspersus debeat excavari de
 carne eius cum acubus et subulis. Peregrinationes ultra
 mare, sive ad limina sanctorum, nichil aliud esse dicunt
 quam quod homines inaniter sua corpora currendo fatigant.
 Ecclesiam Romanam dicunt³ magnam meretricem. Unde domino
 pape et omnibus episcopis, sacerdotibus, et clericis
 catholicis contradicunt, dicentes se esse⁴ ecclesiam dei et
 illos mundi seductores⁵. Episcopus autem secte eorum sic
 dedicatur: puerum ab utero matris egressum antequam gustet
 lac maternum accipiunt, nutriendes eum lacte amigdalino et
 penidis et demum esu piscium. Cavent autem quod nunquam

1. fornicationem...peccato obliterated: c.

2. om. A,B.

3. esse add. c,n,aa,ee,A,B.

4. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

5. Quomodo episcopus Manicheorum dedicatur (heading)
add. k,l.

gustet carnes neque lacticinia nec aliquod quod de cohitu nascitur. Demum cum ad annum discretionis pervenerit ipso iure episcopus est secte. Porro quando ad locum secretum credentes eorum¹ conveniunt ante prefatum episcopum procidunt super genua sua adorantes eum² et dicunt singuli: Parce nobis domine. Et subjungit unusquisque dicens hec verba teuthonice: Nimmer muezze ich ersterben, ich muezze umb euch erwerben daz mein end guet werde. At ille singulis manus imponens dicit hec verba ter³ super unumquemque adorantium: Du werdest ein guet man. Credentibus ipsorum nullam dant spem salutis nisi ad ipsorum sectam relictis omnibus convertantur ex toto,⁴ vel saltem in extremo vite articulo manus impositionem ab ipsis accipiant. Dicunt

1. om. A,B.

2. om. A,B.

3. om. c,g,k,l,n,x,y,cc.

4. ex creato: h,q,cc; om. all other Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y.

enim omnia peccata per manus impositionem ab ipsis¹ factam relaxari et spiritum sanctum infundi. Et hec volunt probare per illam auctoritatem Actuum: "Tunc imponebant manus super illos et acceperunt spiritum sanctum.² Quando autem in extremo vite periculo² aliquem recipere volunt dant ei optionem utrum velit in regno celorum esse cum sanctis martyribus vel confessoribus. Si itaque elegerit statum martyrum tunc³ manutergio ad hoc specialiter deputato quod teuthonice vocatur vudertuech⁴ ipsum strangulant, ostio super eum⁵ clauso. Si autem statum confessorum elegerit tunc post manus impositionem nichil dant ei ad usum vel⁶ ad esum nisi puram aquam ad bibendum et ita fame⁷ perimunt.

1. accipiant...ipsis om. g,h,y,ff,A,B.

2. articulo: c,e,g,h,n,r,x,cc,ff.

3. om. A,B.

4. vordertuch: A,B.

5. se: A,B.

6. ad usum vel om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.

7. ipsum add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,y.

a. Act. 8, 17.

De nominibus sectarum xxvi¹

[De nominibus sectarum: Capitulum sextum]

Heretici quidam vocantur ex nomine auctoris, ut² Symoniaci a Symone mago³; quidam ex causis quas instituerunt; quidam ex loco, ut Runcarii a villa.⁴ Nicolaite, a Nicolao, qui ob pulchritudinem relinquens uxorem dixit ut qui vellet ea uteretur et sic versa est in stuprum, ideo indifferenter stuprantur.⁵ Menandriani mundum non a deo sed ab angelis factum dicunt. Katharei propter munditiam negant penitentibus veniam; viduas si nubant pro adulteris habent. Ioviniani, a monacho, inter virgines et nuptas nullam dicunt esse differentiam. Tertulliani, a presbitero, dicunt animam immortalem,⁶ sed corpoream, et animas peccatorum in demones converti post mortem. Apostolici nudis pedibus incedunt. Kathafrigie ex sanguine infantis et farina conficiunt panem qui infans si moritur martyr habetur, si vivit sanctus

1. heading as in a,d,y (xxv: a; xxvi om. y); other headings: De diversitate nominum hereticorum: c,j; De derivatione nominum et sectarum: g,ff; Nomina sectarum: h; De nominibus hereticorum: Capitulum vi^m: k; Sequitur capitulum 6^m de nominibus hereticorum: l; De distinctione nominum et sectarum: n; De diversitate nominum hereticorum et sectarii eorum: Capitulum vi: r; De diversitate nominum hereticorum et sectarii: Capitulum vi: t; De nominibus hereticorum: B; no heading: b,e,f, i,q,x,aa,cc,A.
2. om. A,B.
3. magistro: c; magno: g,i,j.
4. et add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
5. et sic versa...stuprantur om. f,i,j,ee; ideo...stuprantur om. c,x,ff.
6. mortalem: c,h,i,j,t,x,aa,ee.

dicitur. Adamite, ab Adam, nudi conveniunt ad orandum¹
viri et femine. Valsei se ipsos et hospites suos castrant.
Massiliani sunt ut monachi nichil operantes sed tantum
o[pe]rantes,² et monachos qui idem non³ faciunt condemnant;
hii dicunt porcam cum porcellis de ore hominis exire cum
purgatur ritu eorum et ignem non comburentem visibiliter
intrare in os eorum. Priscillianiste turpissima comittunt
quod adeo occultant ut dicant credentibus suis: Iura, periura,
secretum pandere noli;⁴ fatalibus stellis homines colligatos
dicunt.⁵ Passolomite silentio student tantum ut naribus
et ori suo digitum apponant ne ipsa taciturnitate vox
erumpat. Item quidam nudis pedibus incedunt⁶ quia dicitur:
“Solve calciamentum,”^a et cetera. Item Circumcelliones sunt

1. ad adorandum: h,i,j,q,r,x,A,B.

2. orantes: A,B; operantes: a,b,q,y, (sed tantum vacant non operantes, d); sed...operantes om. all other Ps-R. mss.

3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except d,q,y,cc.

4. om. e,g,k,l,n,ff.

5. fatalibus...dicunt om. f,i,j,x,r,t,ee (om. passage written in margin: t); Katafrigie...dicunt om.c.

6. om. A,B.

a. Act. 7, 33.

ferocissimi in alios et in se, nam se ipsos precipitant et occidunt. Item quidam dicunt animas sceleratorum in demones converti et in quecumque animalia meritis suis congrua. Item Iovinianus monachus virginitatem reprobat.¹ Item Arabii dicunt animas cum corpore mori et post utrumque resurgere. Paterniani dicunt inferiores partes corporis a dyabolo factas ideo flagitiose utuntur eis. Abenonite uxores ducunt sed eis non utuntur² propter continentiam. Item Iosepiste qui contrahunt matrimonium spirituale et preter coitum omnes delectationes³ exercent.⁴

1. Item...reprobat om. c,y.

2. om. a,y (written in margin: d).

3. mundi add. q,cc.

4. Et nota etiam quod episcopus (p.71)...exercent om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

Quomodo heretici cognoscuntur xxvii¹

[Quomodo heretici cognoscantur: Capitulum septimum]

Heretici cognoscuntur per mores² et verba; sunt enim in moribus compositi et modesti. Superbiam in vestibus non habent quia nec preciosis³ nec multum abiectis utuntur. Negotiationes non habent propter mendacia et iuramenta et fraudes vitandas, sed tantum vivunt de labore⁴ ut opifices.⁵ Doctores etiam ipsorum sunt textores et sutores. Divitias non multiplicant sed necessariis sunt contenti. Casti etiam sunt, maxime Leoniste. Temperati sunt in cibo et potu; ad tabernas non eunt nec ad choreas nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent.⁶ Semper vel operantur, vel discunt, vel docent, et ideo parum orant. Item ad ecclesiam fide vadunt, offerunt, confitentur, communicant, et intersunt predicationibus, sed ut predicantem capiant in sermone. Cognoscuntur etiam

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxvi: a; b: Quomodo hereticus cognoscitur; xxvii om. y); other headings: Quomodo heretici cognoscantur; capitulum vii: c,k,r; Quomodo heretici noscantur; g,ff; Modus cognoscendi: h; Quomodo heretici cognoscantur: j,w; Sequitur capitulum 7^m quomodo heretici cognoscantur: l; 7 capitulum: m; Quomodo heretici cognoscantur, vii capitulum: p; Quomodo heretici cognoscantur (at top of page): s; Quomodo heretici cognoscuntur, capitulum vii: t; Sequitur capitulum vii^m: dd; Capitulum vii, Cognicio hereticorum: ee; Quomodo heretici cognoscentur: n; Quomodo heretici cognoscantur: B; no heading: e,f,i,q,u,x,aa,bb,cc,A.
2. et vitam add. a,b,d,y.
3. quia nec preciosis om. n,ff.
4. manuum add. A,B.
5. ut opifices om. a,b,d,y.
6. torquent: m,u,w,bb; retorquent: s.

in verbis precisis et modestis. Cavent etiam a detractone et scurrilitate et verborum levitate et a mendacio et a iuramento, nec dicunt vere vel certe et similia quia hec reputant iuramenta. Item ad questiones raro directe respondent ut si queras ab ipso: Scis tu ewangelium vel epistolas, respondet: Quis docuisset me ista; vel dicit: Hoc debent discere¹ qui sunt magni vel profundi intellectus vel qui ad hoc sunt otiosi vel ydonei.² Hec dicunt sibi licere quia³ Christus dixit Iudeis: "Solvite templum hoc"^a intelligens de templo corporis sed ipsi intelligebant de templo Salomonis. Dicunt etiam est est, non non.

1. scire: c,i,j,n,r,t,x,aa,dd,ee.

2. et dicunt tantum est est non non add. B; tamen est est non non add. A.

3. instead of licere quia: mistice ut quando: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

a. Ich. 2, 19.

Quomodo heretici ingerunt se familiaritati¹ hominum xxviii²

[Quomodo heretici familiaritati magnorum se ingerunt:
Capitulum octavum]

Heretici³ callide student⁴ qualiter⁵ se ingerant familiaritati⁶ nobilium et magnorum. Et hoc faciunt⁷ hoc modo: aliquas merces gratas ut anulos et pepla dominis et dominabus exhibent ad emendum. Quibus venditis si emens querit: Habes plures ad vendendum, respondet: Habeo preciosiores gemmas que sint iste, has⁸ vobis darem⁹ si me faceretis securum quod non proderetis me¹⁰ clericis. Securitate itaque accepta dicit: Habeo gemmam a deo fulgentem quod homo per eam cognovit deum, aliam que tantum rutilat quod amorem dei accendit in corde habentis eam, et sic de ceteris. Gemmis loquitur¹¹ metaphorice. Postea recitat sibi aliquod devotum capitulum ut est illud Luce ii: "Missus

1. familiaritatibus: d.

2. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxviii om. a; hominum xxviii om. y); other headings: Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati magnorum, caput viii: c; Qualiter heretici ingerantur familiaritate dominorum: g,ff; Sequitur familiaritas: h; Qualiter se ingerunt familiaritati: j; Quomodo heretici familiaritati magnorum se ingerunt, capitulum octavum: k; Sequitur capitulum 8^m, quomodo heretici familiaritati magnorum se ingerunt: l; Quomodo heretici ingerunt se familiaritatibus dominorum: n; Quomodo heretici se familiaritate nobilium ingerant, vii capitulum: p; Qualiter heretici se ingerant familiaritati magnorum: r; Heretici familiaritate magnorum se ingerunt: s; Qualiter se ingerant familiaritate magnorum, capitulum octavum: t; Quomodo heretici se familiaritate magnorum se ingerunt: w; 8^m capitulum: bb; Sequitur capitulum viii: dd; Qualiter heretici ingerant se familiaritate nobilium (capitulum viii: in margin): ee; no heading: e,f,i,m,q,u,x,aa,cc,A,B.

3. om. A,B.

4. Student eciam callide: A,B.

5. student qualiter om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

6. hominum add. a,b,d,y; dominorum add. g,n,ff.

7. Et hoc faciunt om. A,B.

8. quas: A,B.

9. donarem: m,u,s,w,bb,dd.

10. om. A,B.

11. Gemmas dicit: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (dicitur: q).

est Gabriel angelus,^a et cetera; vel de sermone domini
 Johanni: Ante diem festum,^b et cetera; vel de apostolo
 morale capitulum ut est illud Romanos^c xii: Obsecro vos per
 misericordiam dei,^c et cetera.¹ Cum hec inceperint²
 auditori placere tunc subdit capitulum³ Matthei xxii:⁴
 "Super kathedram,^d et cetera: Ve vobis qui tulistis clavem
 scientie,^e et cetera;⁵ vos non intratis et ceteros intrare
 prohibetis; et illud Mathei v: "Ve vobis qui devoratis
 domos viduarum et cetera⁶ que secuntur. Quesitus autem ab
 auditore de quo iste imprecationes⁷ intelligantur respondet
 de clericis et religiosis. Postea hereticus fecit comparationem
 status ecclesie Romane ad statum ipsorum sic dicens:
 Doctores Romane ecclesie⁸ sunt fastuosi in vestibus⁹ et in

-
1. vel de apostolo...cetera om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,g,y,cc (Obsecro...cetera om. b).
 2. Cum igitur ipse inceperit (cepit; f,c; ceperit: g,x,ee; incepti: l,u; incipit, w; ipse om. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd) all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (incipiunt: h; recipererint: q; perceperit: cc).
 3. Cum hec...capitulum om. here: A,B.
 4. xx: x; xxiii: k,l,s,bb,dd (23: s,bb); 27:dd.
 5. instead of Ve...cetera: Cum hec inceperint auditori placere tunc subdit capitulum: Ve vobis qui tulistis clavem scientie: A,B (tunc...tulistis om. A.).
 6. ve add. b,d,h,y; vobis...cetera om. cc; Ve vobis... cetera om. q.
 7. predicationes: c,i,f,x,ee,A; inpredicationes: j,q,y; interpretationes: g,m,n,p,r,s,u,w,aa,bb,dd,ff.
 8. ad statum...ecclesie om. A,B.
 9. in vestibus om. A,B.

a. Luc. 1, 19. b. Joh. 13, 1. c. Rom. 12, 1. d. Matth. 23, 2.
 e. Luc. 11, 52. f. Matth. 23, 13. g. Matth. 23, 14.

moribus; Mathei xxiii: "Amant primos recubitus et vocari¹
 ab hominibus Rabbi; ^{"a} nos vero talia non querimus. Item ipsi²
 sunt incontinentes sed unusquisque nostrum suam uxorem habet
 et cum ea caste vivit. Item sunt divites et avari quibus
 dicitur Mathei [sic]: "Ve vobis divitibus quia habetis hic
 consolationem vestram;^{"b} nos vero habentes victum et quibus
 tegamur⁴ hiis contenti sumus. Item⁵ sunt voluptuosi quibus
 dicitur: "Ve vobis qui devoratis domos viduarum, et cetera;^{"c}
 nos vero utcunque sustentamur. Item ipsi pugnant et
 bella inducunt et mandant occidi et incendi pauperes quibus
 dicitur: "Omnis qui acceperit gladium gladio peribit;^{"d} nos
 vero ab eis⁷ persecutionem ad mortem⁸ patimur propter iustitiam.
 Item comedunt panem otiosum nichil operantes; nos vero

1. appetunt add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

2. clerici add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

3. ~~Luke VI, 24.~~

4. instead of et quibus tegamur: et vestes (vestitum: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd) quibus possimus tegi: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

5. clerici add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

6. pauperes...peribit: om. p; quibus...peribit om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

7. om. A,B.

8. ad mortem om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.

a. Matth. 23, 6-7.

b. Luc. 6, 24.

c. Matth. 23, 14.

d. Matth. 26, 52.

manibus operamur. Item ipsi soli volunt esse doctores
 quibus dicitur Mathei ^[sic]xxiii: "Ve vobis qui tulistis clavem
 scientie,^a et cetera; apud nos vero tam femine quam viri
 docent, et discipulus vii dierum docet alium. Item rarus
 est doctor inter eos qui tria capitula continua novi¹
 testamenti literaliter sciat corde; apud nos vero rarus² est
 vir vel femina³ qui textum eundem non sciat vulgariter
 recitare. Et quia veram fidem Christi habemus et sanctam
 vitam et doctrinam docemus, omnes nos⁴ ideo scribe et pharisei
 gratis persecuntur nos ad mortem ut Christum⁵. Preterea
 ipsi tantum dicunt et non faciunt et alligant onera gravia in
 humeros hominum sed digito suo hec non movent; nos vero omnia
 facimus que docemus. Item ipsi plus cogunt servari

1. om. m, s, w, bb, dd.

2. doctor add. m, s, u, w, bb, dd.

3. mulier: s, m, u, w, bb, dd.

4. om. f, g, n, aa, ff.

5. Item rarus est doctor...ut Christum om. here, similar
 passage add. below (p.115): A, B.

a. luc. 11, 52.

traditiones hominum quam dei mandata ut ieiunia, festa,
 ire ad ecclesiam, et multa alia que sunt hominum instituta;
 nos vero tantum doctrinam Christi servare suademus et
 apostolorum.¹ Item ipsi penitentes penis onerant gravissimis
 quas nec digito movent; nos vero exemplo Christi dicimus
 peccatori: „^aVade iam amplius noli peccare, et ei per manus
 impositionem omnia peccata relaxamus et animas transmittimus
 immediate ad celum. Ipsi autem fere omnes animas
 transmittunt ad purgatorium.² Hiis et aliis propositis dicit
 hereticus: Pensate quis status sit perfectior et que
 fides nostra vel ecclesie Romane, et illum eligite. Et sic
 a fide Catholica avertitur et per errores eorum subvertitur.³
 Et sic credens ipsorum et receptor et fautor et defensor et
 per plures menses ipsum occultans in domo discit de secta
 ipsorum.⁴

1. Item ipsi plus...apostolorum om. c.
2. infernum: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 Item rarus est doctor inter eos qui tria capitula continua
 novi testamenti literaliter sciat corde. Apud nos vero
 rarus est vir vel femina qui textum eundem non sciat
 vulgariter recitare, unde ceci sunt et duces cecorum. Et
 quia veram fidem Christi habemus et sanctam vitam et
 doctrinam docemus nos persecuntur ad mortem ut Christum:
 add. A,B.
3. fide katholica subvertitur (pervertitur: ee) per errores
 eorum adversus: c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee; a fide katholica
 avertitur per errores eorum: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
4. ipsum occultant in domo sua ad discendum sectam eorum:
 m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

a. Joh. 8,11.

De modo examinandi hereticos xxix¹

[De modo examinandi hereticos: Capitulum nonum]

Cui papa commiserit inquisitionem hereticorum ille inquisitor scilicet² obtineat literas principis terre, in quibus mandet omnibus iudicibus³ et potentibus ut efficaciter cooperentur ut heretica pravitas extirpetur et ut inquisitor defendatur per eos, et literas episcopi habeat qui mandet omnium⁴ ecclesiarum prelati et vicariis ut similiter cooperentur. Volens autem exequi officium sibi iniunctum premittat literas plebano ubi et quo die velit inquisitionem habere, mandans⁵ ei ut convocet omnes plebejanos etiam de vicinis ecclesiis; quibus collectis inquisitor faciat exhortationem de veritate Romane⁶ fidei et ut in ea quilibet perseveret⁷, et exponat literas suas omnes et postea faciat omnes iurare quod fidem

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxviii: a; xxix om. b,y); other headings: Quomodo heretici examinentur, capitulum ix: c,t; De inquisitione hereticorum: e; De modo examinandi hereticum; capitulum ix^m: g,ff; Sequitur commissio: h; ix^m capitulum: m; De modo examinandi hereticos, capitulum 9^m: k,n; Sequitur capitulum 9^m, de modo examinandi hereticos: l; Quomodo heretici examinentur: j; De modo examinandi hereticos (ix^m capitulum: in margin): p; Quomodo heretici examinantur: r; Nota de modo examinandi hereticos (at top of page): s; Quomodo heretici examinantur: x; Sequitur nunc capitulum ix^m: dd; Quomodo examinantur heretici: ee; Quomodo examinandi hereticos: B; no heading: f,i,q,u,w,aa,bb,cc,A; Quomodo heretici examinandi sint add. below heading: n,ff.
2. se: m,s,u,w,bb,dd; Cui commissa est inquisitionem hereticorum a papa inquisitor: A,B. (a papa om. B).
3. terre add. q,cc.
4. om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.
5. mandet: A,B.
6. ecclesie et add. g,n,t,aa,ff; ecclesie Romane fidei: h.
7. oret: add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,f,h,q,y,cc.

Romanam pro¹ viribus defendant et quod fideliter proponant si aliqui errores sciant² vel audierint contrarios fidei Romane.³ Si autem non sint qui velint in publico accusare, tunc inquisitor, assumptis⁴ sibi tribus vel pluribus discretioribus, secrete audiat accusantes⁵ sigillatim, primo contestans sub debito iuramenti ut veritatem non celent, sed omnia dicta testium redigantur in scripto. Postea advocet accusatum et dicat: Dicitur de te quod sis hereticus, si vis confiteri et abiurare errorem tuum et redire ad ecclesie⁶ unitatem fiet tecum misericordia. Si autem convictus fueris deterius erit tibi.

1. totis add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. om. A,B.

3. Romane ecclesie vel fidei: m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

4. associatis: A,B.

5. om. f,i,j,ee.

6. instead of ecclesie: ad congregacionem. Romanam: dd.

De quibus interrogari debet hereticus xxx¹

Queratur ab heretico examinando. Primo² si aliqua sacra verba didicerit quando incepit et cum quibus. An etiam laycos docuerit. Item si unquam audierit predicari occultas doctrinas esse prohibitas et propter talia combustos homines et tamen postea fecerit. Item si profiteatur nomen alicuius ordinis, scilicet pauperum de Lugduno, et similium. Item qualiter debeat homo in mandatis dei salvari. Item cui primo obediendum sit post deum cum dicat auctoritas: "Melior est obedientia quam victima."² An pape et clericis audierit unquam non³ obediendum esse. Item an unquam layco confessionem fecerit; laycos appello non ordinatos a nostris episcopis qui vadunt sine tonsura cum gladiis sicut et alii.⁵

1. heading as in a,b,d,(xxix: a; hereticus xxx om. b; Ad examinandum hereticum: y) other headings: Examinatio hereticorum secreta: c; Examinatio heretici: e; Interrogatio: f,n,ff; Sequitur interrogacio ad hereticum: g; Inquisitio: h; Item alia examinacio: j; Quid querendum sit ab heretico: p; Item examinacio: r,t; Nota quomodo heretici puniantur [sic] : s; 10^m: bb; Sequitur capitulum x^m quomodo hereticus inquitur ab inquisitore: dd; Examinacio: ee; Questiones heretico faciende: B; Questiones inquisitorum (in margin): A; no heading: i,k,l,m,q,u,w,x,aa,cc.
2. om. A,B.
3. om. c,f,i,j,m,u,x,ee.
4. fecerit vel laycis non ordinatis: s,w,bb.
5. gladiis et aliis armis: f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee; rustici add. h; qui vadunt...alii om. c.

a. I Reg. 15,22.

Item quid sibi ille iniunxerit in satisfactionem. Item
 quere statim iniunxitne tibi unquam¹ ut nunquam² ab illa³
 fraternitate quacumque necessitate recederes⁴ sed semper
 fratribus bene faceres. Item si⁵ inhibuerit id ipsum
 clericis nunquam⁶ revelare. Item si illi doctores
 vituperaverint clerum⁷ dicentes: "Ceci sunt duces cecorum"^a et
 "pharisei qui claudunt regnum celorum ante homines."^b Item
 si credat vel unquam crediderit omnem⁸ bonum laycum
 sacerdotem esse Christi et omnem malum⁹ presbiterum pharaonis.
 Item quid credat de statutis ab homine que non videntur
 inveniri in biblia sicut de ordinibus, de unctione, de
 ecclesiarum structura, de alto cantu¹⁰ in ecclesia,¹¹ de missis
 defunctorum, de suffragiis animarum, de peregrinationibus,

1. om. B.
2. ut unquam tibi: A.
3. aliqua: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc; instead of
 ab illa: alia: A,B.
4. instead of Item...recederes: Item si iniunxerit ne
 unquam recederes: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
5. ne: A,B.
6. unquam: A,B.
7. doctores cleri: m,s,w,bb,dd.
8. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
9. laycum sic : A,B.
10. instead of alto cantu: altari: e,g,k,l,n,ff; altaribus:
 f,i,j,r,t,x,aa; alto casu: h.
11. de...ecclesiam om. s,m,u,w,bb,dd.

a. Matth. 15, 14. b. Matth. 23, 13.

de candelis in ecclesia¹. Item si sint due vie tantum² et non tertia³. Item quid valeat offerri presbiteris. An predicta cum aliis unquam fecerint. Item in quibus eleemosyna optime locari possit; et si dixerit: In pauperibus, quere⁴ an unquam audierit quod ipsi sint veri⁵ pauperes Christi. Item si credat quemlibet bonum laycum posse ligare et solvere. Item quere sub⁶ maxime coniuratione si iam esset occidendus⁷ a quo potius vellet sumere communionem aut de manu sui magistri aut de manu mali presbiteri. Item an potius⁸ eucharistiam confectam a fornicatore presbitero vel a magistro suo⁹ layco. Item si dicit¹⁰ nichil penitus scire quere an velit hoc eligere si convincatur quod quasi pro heresi condempnetur. Item si dicit se fuisse in hac vita quere si¹¹

1. et ornatu add. y.
2. ad celum add. h.
3. sicut purgatorium add. u.
4. om. A,B.
5. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
6. magna vel: add. e,i,j,x,ee.
7. Si iam esset occidendus quere sub maxima coniuratione: A,B.
8. vellet...potius om. A,B.
9. om. A,B.
10. si se dicit de hiis: A,B.
11. instead of quere si: an: A,B.

velit abiurare illam. Et si dicit se velle penitere quere an velit iurare¹ se prodere omnes consocios talium, ita ut si inventus fuerit scienter mentitus esse tanquam hereticus condempnetur. Item si velit iurare de cetero nunquam tales ad talia diligere. Si nullo modo velit iurare coniuretur per patrem, et filium et spiritum sanctum, per Christi misericordiam, per² passionem, per tremendum iudicium, per excommunicationem Petri et Pauli, si credat papam et suos aliquem posse ligare ut prodat tales. Item unde habeat quod iurare sit peccatum³. Item quid crediderit⁴ de combustis in tali fide an sint de numero⁵ salvandorum et martyres. Item quid audierit magistros dicere de esu carnum, de ieiunio, quid dicant an eis placeat vel non. Item an unquam collectam fecerit ad mittendum fratribus in Lombardiam. Item si talem familiaritatem unquam confessus fuerit sacerdoti suo. Et utrum suaserit integraliter confitendum presbiteris vel non.⁶

1. illam...iurare om. A,B.

2. misericordiam per om. h,k,l.

3. instead of quod iurare sit peccatum: si sit peccatum iurare: A,B.

4. vel (quod, B) credat add. A,B.

5. de numero om. a,b,d.

6. presbiteris confitendum nec ne. Respice supra in titulo de articulis heresum: add. A,B.

Quomodo debeat hereticus examinari xxxi¹

Cum in publico fit inquisitio assumantur assessores honesti et dicta testium audiantur et queret iudex: Vis heresim abiurare. Si perfectus est, respondebit: Non iurabo quia Christus prohibuit iurare, et tunc est convictus et confessus. Si autem est imperfectus, tunc respondebit: Si debeo iurare iurabo; vel dicet: Si iubetis me iurare.² Tunc iudex dicat: Non iubeo te³ iurare, sed si vis ut credamus tibi, iura. Si dixerit hereticus: Nescio iurare,⁴ docete me formam iuramenti, has omnes et similes tergiversationes⁵ habent ut forment sibi conscientiam quod non sit iurans sed tantum recitator iuramenti iudicis. Si autem est imperfectus, tunc per se iurabit et pro iuramento penitentiam accipiet a suo

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxx: a; interrogari, xxxi om. b; xxxi om. y); other headings: Publica examinacio hereticorum: c; De assessionibus assumendis et de cetera: e; In publico inquisitione sic fit: g,ff; Modus examinandi: h; Examinacio publica: j,t,ee; Sequitur: l; In publico inquisicione sit faciendum: n; no heading: f,i,k,q,r,x,aa,cc,A,B.
2. iurabo add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
3. iudebo: a,b,d,y.
4. Nescio iuramentum facere vel iurare: c,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee; nescio iurare vel iuramentum: f.
5. transgressionibus: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc (excusaciones, b).

episcopo et qui sunt de societate ipsius cum eo. Ideo iudex cautus sit circa tales, quia sicut anguilla quanto fortius stringitur tanto facilius elabitur, sic in omni responsione hereticorum inuenies duplicitatem. Iurabit etiam quod prodat omnes doctores et discipulos¹ suos. Prestito iuramento dicet iudex: Si de cetero fuerit inventum² te³ esse relapsum, tunc condempnaberis ut convictus. Si autem convictus⁴ et confessus redire noluerit, tunc iudex a singulis prudentioribus qui examinatione intersunt requirat an ipsi iudicent⁵ eum sufficienter convictum de heresi⁶, quibus asserentibus quod sic, pronunciat iudex sententiam sic: Iste in tali et tali articulo contra fidem pertinaciter erravit neque vult errorem corrigere, ideo denuncio vobis eum precisum esse ab ecclesie unitate.

-
1. condiscipulos: A, B.
 2. in te id est add. a, b, d, y.
 3. tunc: B; tunc omne: A.
 4. si autem convictus om. f, ee.
 5. om. f, g, i, j, ee.
 6. profiteantur add. f, ee.

Quomodo heretici sunt puniendi xxxii¹

[Quomodo heretici puniantur: Capitulum decimum]

Punitur autem² hereticus iii^{or} modis. Primo excommunicatione.³

Omnis enim⁴ hereticus, sive magnus sive parvus, manifestus vel occultus excommunicatus est ipso iure maiori excommunicatione

ut ^{infra} ^{eadem} ^{titulo} ^a i₁ e₁ t₁: Ad abolendam. Secundo depositione. Quia sive

sit clericus sive laycus, papa vel imperator, et quilibet

inferior deponi debet ab omni dignitate; clerici prius

degradati ab ordinibus seculari potestati relinquuntur puniendi:

i₁ ^{infra} ^b De crimine falsi. Ad falsarios; vel invocet brachium

seculare contra rebelles ut xi. q. iii: Si quis sacerdotum.⁴

Qui vero fuerint inventi de heresi sola suspicione notabiles,

nisi ad arbitrium episcopi se expurgaverint, simili⁵ sententie

subiacebunt ut ^{infra} ^{eadem} ^{titulo} i₁ e₁ t₁: Ad abolendam. Tertio militari

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (sint puniendi xxxi: a; xxxii om. b; sunt examinari sic, xxxii om. y); other headings: Qualiter heretici puniuntur: c; De penis hereticorum: e; Qualiter hereticus puniatur: g,j; Punizio hereticorum: h; Quomodo heretici puniantur, capitulum x: k; Sequitur capitulum l^m quomodo heretici puniantur: l; Capitulum x^m: n,ff; Qualiter puniantur heretici, capitulum x: r,ee; Qualiter heretici puniantur, capitulum decimum: t; Qualiter heretici puniantur: A,B; no heading: f,i,q,x,aa,cc.

2. om. A,B.

3. quia add. A,B.

4. om. A,B.

5. penitencie vel add. k,l.

a. V, 7, 9 (this and the following references are to Friedberg's edition of the Corpus Iuris Canonici (Leipzig, 1879, 81)).

b. V, 20, 7. c. C. XI, q. 1, cxviii.

persecutione. Quia si aliter fieri non potest manu armata^a
sunt ab eis omnia bona auferenda ut viii. d.: Quo iure.^a
Tutum est autem ut hoc fiat speciali edicto principis vel
ecclesie ne ex cupiditate vel ultione ecclesia videatur
pugnare ut xxiii. q. i.^{[sic] b} Si vero¹ convertantur ad fidem non
restituuntur eis ablata nisi de gratia ut i^{infra} e^{eadem} t^{titulo}: Vergentis.^c
Quid si heretici habent filios orthodoxos nunquid hereditarie
capiunt bona paterna? Secundum canones videtur quod non, ut
i^{infra} e^{eadem} t^{titulo}: Vergentis, sed contradicunt leges C^{codicis} e^{extra} t^{titulo}:
Manicheos,^d ubi dicitur quod bona hereticorum devolvuntur² ad
filios orthodoxos³ alioquin ad cognatos. Vasali absolvuntur
ipso iure a fidelitate et omni pacto quacumque firmitate
vallato quo hereticis tenebantur adstricti ut i^{infra} e^{eadem} t^{titulo} Codicis,^e

1. om. A, B.

2. deveniebant: c, e, f, i, j, k, l, r, t, x, aa, ee; deveniant: g, n, ff;
tenebantur: h; devobantur [sic]: q; devolvebantur: cc.

3. om. c, f, i, j, r, x, aa, ee.

a. D. VIII, c. 1. b. C. XXIII, q. 7. c. V, 7, 10.

d. Codex Iustinianus, De haereticis et Manicheis, I, 5. §.
(Corpus iuris civilis, ed. Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1944)
II, p. 51.

e. Ibid.

ultra ymo etiam vasali dominorum temporalium, qui requisiti
 et moniti¹ suam terram purgare neglexerint ab heretica feditate
 post eorum excommunicationem et contemptum denunciandi sunt
 absoluti ut ^{in pra} ^{eodem} ^{titulo} ^a Excommunicamus. Ex hoc patet quod
 principes seculares et domini temporales, ut episcopi, si
 propter heresim aliorum quos dum possunt exterminare neglexerint
 excommunicandi sunt et expellendi sunt a terris, et terre
 ipsorum exponi possunt Catholicis occupande ut xvii.² ^[sic] d. iiii.
Si quis deinceps.^b De pena defensorum, fautorum, et credentium
 hereticorum teneas quod dicunt leges ^{extra} ^{titulo} ⁴ Excommunicamus.
 Qui vero ab heresi recedere³ volunt recipiantur secundum formam
 que habetur infra ^{eodem} ^{titulo} Ad abolendam. De pena prelatorum
 circa hoc negligentium legitur ^{extra} ^{titulo} ⁴ Excommunicamus.⁵ Si

1. et moniti om. A,B.
2. xviii: c,i,j,x,ee.
3. desistere: c,e,f,i,j,k,l,t,x,ee; absistere: aa.
4. Ad abolendam...legitur e.t. om. f,i,j,aa,ee.
5. qui vero...Excommunicamus om. g,n,r,ff.

a. V, 7, 13.

b. C. XVII, q. 4, c. xxii.

queritur an cum reversis ab heresi valeat dispensari ut
 promoveri possint et per quos dispensetur, sciendum est quod
 tales de iure communi recipiendi sunt ad laycalem
 communionem ut i. q. vii.^a Adhibetur autem circa eos
 quadruplex dispensatio: scilicet¹ semiplena, ut recipiantur in
 ordinibus iam susceptis sublata omni² spe promotionis ut
 i. q. i.: Si quis heretice^b item plena, ut possint sacerdotes
 fieri et non ultra ut i. q. vii: Convenientibus^c; item
 plenior, ut possint esse episcopi et non primates; item
 plenissima, ut ad omnes dignitates et ordines valeant
 promoveri ut xxiii.⁴ q. iiii: Ipsa pietas⁵

1. om. A,B.

2. om. c,f,i,j,r,t,x,aa,ee.

3. ~~heretice~~: A,B.

4. xiiii: f,ee.

5. ut...pietas om. a,b,d,y.

a. Si qui presbyteri. C.I. q.7, c 1. b. C.I, q. 1, c. xli

c. C.I. q.7, c.iv. d. C. XXIII, q.4, c. xxiv.

De sententia pape contra hereticos xxxiii¹

Excommunicamus et anathematizamus universos hereticos Catharos², Paterinos, pauperes de Lugduno, Passaginos, Ioseppinos, Arnaldistas³, Speronistas⁴, et alios quibuscumque nominibus censeantur, facies quidam⁵ habentes diversas et⁶ caudas ad invicem colligatas, quia de vanitate conveniunt in idipsum. Dampnati vero per ecclesiam seculari iudicio reliquantur animadversione debita puniendi, clericis prius a suis ordinibus degradatis. Si qui vero de predictis postquam fuerint deprehensi redire voluerint⁷ ad agendam condignam penitentiam in perpetuo carcere retrudantur. Credentes autem eorum erroribus hereticos similiter iudicamus. Item receptatores, defensores, fautores hereticorum

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxxii: a,b; xxxiii om. y); other headings: Decretalis iii^o heresi: c; Decretalis contra hereticos: g,j,r,aa,ee,ff; Excommunicatio: h; Sententia domini pape contra hereticos: k,l; Decretales contra hereticos: t; Sententia domini pape contra Paternos: A,B; no heading: e (decretalis contra hereticos add. in bottom margin, in another hand), f,i,n,q,x,cc. The first part of this bull (Excommunicamus et anathematizamus...similiter iudicamus) is published in Friedberg, Corpus Iuris Canonici, II (Leipzig, 1881) col. 789, and the remaining part in Raynaldus, Annales ecclesiastici [1229-1256] ed. G.D. Mansi, XXI (Lucca, 1747) pp. 38-39.
2. om. i,j.
3. Ioseppinos, Arnaldistas om. n.
4. Wigleffistas add. y; et pessimos Leonistas add. k,l.
5. ~~quidem. A,B.~~
6. sed: A,B.
7. noluerint: Friedberg (cf. H.C. Lea, A history of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages (New York, 1888) I, 484).

excommunicationis sententie decernimus subjacere, firmiter statuantes ut si postquam quilibet talium fuerit excommunicatione nodatus, a qua super hoc non curaverit presumptione cessare, ipso iure sit factus infamis, nec ad publica officia seu consilia, nec ad eligendos aliquos ad huiusmodi, nec ad testimonium admittatur. Sit etiam intestabilis ut nec testamenti habeat factionem nec ad hereditatis successionem accedat. Nullus preterea ipsi super quocumque negotio sed ipse aliis respondere cogatur. Quod si forte iudex extiterit, eius sententia nullam obtineat firmitatem, nec cause aliquae ad eius audientiam perferantur. Si fuerit advocatus, eius patrocinium nullatenus admittatur. Si tabellio, instrumenta confecta¹ per ipsum nullius penitus sint

1. facta: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

momenti, sed cum auctore dampnato dampnentur, et in similibus idem precipimus observari. Si vero clericus fuerit, ab omni officio et beneficio deponatur. Si quis autem tales postquam ab ecclesia fuerint denodati evitare contempserint excommunicationis sententia percellantur alias animadversione debita puniendi. Qui autem inventi fuerint sola suspicione notabiles, nisi iuxta considerationem suspicionis qualitatemque persone propriam innocentiam congrua excusatione² monstraverint, anathematis gladio feriantur, et usque ad satisfactionem condignam ab omnibus evitentur ita ut³ si per annum in excommunicatione perstiterint ex tunc velut heretici condempnentur. Item proclamationes⁴ et appellationes huiusmodi personarum minime audiantur. Item iudices, advocati,

1. sunt add. a,b,d,y.

2. suspicione: A,B (purgatione: Raynaldus).

3. om. a,b,d,y.

4. et agravaciones add. y.

et notarii nulli eorum¹ officium suum impendant; alioquin eodem officio perpetuo sint privati. Item clerici non exhibeant huiusmodi pestilentibus ecclesiastica sacramenta nec elemosinas aut eorum oblationes accipiant, similiter hospitalarii ac templarii² et quilibet regulares, alioquin suo priventur officio, ad quod nunquam restituantur absque indulto sedis apostolice speciali. Item quicumque tales presumpserint ecclesiastice tradere sepulture usque ad satisfactionem ydoneam excommunicationis sententie se noverint subiacere, nec absolutionis beneficium mereantur nisi propriis manibus³ extumulent, et proiciant huiusmodi corpora dampnatorum, et locus ille perpetuo careat sepultura. Item firmiter inhibemus ne unquam layce persone liceat publice vel privatim

1. om. a,b,d,y.

2. Contemplarii: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,k,l,q,r,t,y,cc, (Contemplarii, con deleted, c).

3. publice add. A,B.

de fide Catholica disputare. Qui vero contra fecerit excommunicationis laqueo innodetur. Item si quis vero hereticos sciverit, vel aliqua occulta conventicula aliquos celebrantes seu a communi conversatione fidelium¹ vita dissidentes, eos studeat indicare confessori suo vel alii per quem credat ad prelati notitiam pervenire, alioquin excommunicationis sententia percèllatur. Filii autem hereticorum, receptatorum, fautorum, et² defensorum³ eorum, usque ad secundam generationem, ad nullum officium seu beneficium admittantur. Quod si secus actum fuerit decernimus irritum et inane.

1. om. g,n,ff.

2. fautorum et om. A,B.

3. om. A.

De hiis qui vocantur Sterzer xxxiiii¹

Inter ypocritas² qui Sterzer vocantur alii sunt miserabiles alii honorabiles. In prima secta sunt qui se fingunt pauperos; cecos; contractos; turgidos per herbam; putridos per sanguinem ovis; [per sanguinem] in vesica sanguifluos;³ brachium mortui alligant; femine gestant tres pueros alienos; pallidi se colorant. In secunda secta sunt qui se fingunt peregrinos sancti Iacobi, plumbati et ultra marinos et spatulatos penitentes. Item barbatum cum longis crinibus, katherati cum ferreis circulis. Item nudi in femoralibus cum flagellis bovis sanguine paratis se verberant sine lesione et dicunt se esse patricidas et huius⁴ modi. Item femine in habitu religionis mendicant. Alie habitum

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (De hiis om. a,b,y; xxxiii: a; xxxiiii om. b,y); other headings: De ypocritis qui vocantur Stertzer: c; De ypocritis qui Sterzer nominantur: e; De illis qui dicuntur Stertzer: g,ff; De sectis Sterczer: k,l; De ypocrisis [sic] qui dicuntur Sterczer: n; De ypocritis qui nuncupantur Sterczer: j,r,t; De ypocritis dictis Sterczer: ee; Secte ypocritarum: B; no heading: f,h,i,q,x,aa,cc,A.
2. instead of Inter hypocrites: Ypocrite: A,B.
3. putridos per sanguinem ovis; sanguifluos per sanguinem in vesica: A,B.
4. et huius om. A,B.

et gestus viriles¹ assumunt scilicet Chneppinne². Item³
 mentiuntur meretrices se fuisse.⁴ Item aliqui demoniacos
 se fingunt, aliqui Iudeos se esse vel fuisse. Item aliqui
 medicos se fingentes matronas corrumpunt. Item aliqui
 fingunt se comites aut milites. Aliqui per karacteres
 decipiunt et auferunt res, aliqui per alligaturas, aliqui
 per prestigia. Aliqui mentiuntur se curari per miracula.
 Aliqui fingunt imagines lacrimari vel sudare oleum. Aliqui
 eukaristiam in carnem verti. Aliqui fontes sacros et
 arbores venerantur, aliqui reliquias falsas, aliqui
 acervos lapidum. Aliqui sanctos falsos, aliqui demones
 advocant. Aliqui fingunt angelos sibi loqui de statu
 hominum,⁵ aliqui fingunt iubilum et devotionem. Aliqui

1. mendicant vel add. ee.

2. scilicet Chneppinne om. A,B.

3. fingunt sibi servam mitti de cello [?] add. k,l.

4. instead of Item...fuisse: Item fingunt servam sibi mitti
 de celo mentientes se meretrices fuisse: A,B.

5. ut spiritus et beatus et sic matronas corrumpunt add.
 k,l,A,B.

promittunt thezauros absconditos revelare. Aliqui
 pretextu spiritualis collationis feminas corrumpunt.
 Aliqui ossa boum pro reliquiis ostendunt et falsis literis
 faciunt collectas quas turpiter expendunt, predicantes¹
 etiam errores. Aliqui bona dicunt et pessimi vivunt.
 Aliqui habent habitum sanctitatis sed vitam non habent.
 Aliqui fingunt ad celum vel ad infernum se rapi et ibi
 merita et penas adhuc viventium se videre. Aliqui de
 briono, que dicitur shibwurtz,² ymaginem sculpunt quam
 mandragoram esse fingunt. Aliqui radicibus diversa
 nomina imponunt ut seldwurtz, libwurtz, et homines sic
 deludunt. Aliqui mutos se fingunt et sic nutibus futura
 predicunt. Aliqui dicunt esse terram viventium ut in
 Ybernia.³ Aliqui dicunt quod mortui redeant ad amicos.
 Aliqui contrahunt matrimonium spiritualiter et feminas
 sic corrumpunt; aliquis contrahit cum xxx quas omnes
 relinquit.⁴

1. aut cantantes add. k,l.

2. swebwurz: A,B.

3. Verbena: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,f,k,l,y (aliqui...
 Ybernia om. q).

4. ~~in publico~~ ^{Quomodo debet} (p.122)...relinquit om. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd;
 Penes hiis omnibus plebani et rectores debitam
 adhibeant cautelam et cetera add. k.l.

Quod Leoniste non servant ewangelium xxxv¹

Quere ab heretico Leonista si doctrinam Ihesu Christi soli apostoli teneantur servare an etiam ipsi Leoniste. Si respondet quod etiam ipsi teneantur totum ewangelium servare, ergo tenetur percutienti² maxillam prebere et tunicam auferenti etiam pallium relinquere et predicare super tecta; quia igitur hec non servant peccant et multa alia. Item quere quare potius vult mori quam iuret. Si dicet quia Christus docuit non iurare contra³ quare ergo non servat doctrinam ewangelii ut non timeat eos qui corpus occidunt, et ut renunciaret omnibus que possidet et alia multa. Item quere si doctrinam Christi intelligat literaliter vel spiritualiter. Si dicat literaliter ergo si oculus eum scandalizat vel pes aut manus eruat et

1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxiii: b; Quod Leoniste non servant ewangelium et qualiter debent examinari: y); other headings: Examinacio Leonistarum: c; Examinatio Leoniste heretici: g,n,ff; Inquisicio: h; Sequitur: i; Examinacio Leoniste: j,r,t; Quomodo dicta hereticorum reprobentur, x^m capitulum: p; Leoniste et Hussite (in margin): dd; Examinacio: ee; Leoniste non servant ewangelium: B; no heading: e,f,k,l,m,q,s,u,w,x,aa,bb,cc,A.
2. se add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q.
3. eos ius iurandum quod iurabit ad Abraham et cetera add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

abscidet. Si dicat spiritualiter eadem ratione mandatum¹
 de non iurando spiritualiter intelligere potest. Iacobus
 dicit "si quis totam legem servaverit offendat autem in uno
 factus est omnium reus."² Sed tu Leonista pauca² de lege
 Christi servas et in multis offendis, ergo dampnaris quod
 probō. Si habes³ duas tunicas et des unam non habenti et
 de esca similiter. Item si ad festa vadis ut Christus.
 Item si xl dies ieiunas. Item si sis pauper spiritu, mitis,
 lugens, misericors, mundi cordis et cetera. Ve ergo tibi
 si es dives, si es satur,⁴ si rides, si benediceris, si non
 es sal terre et lux mundi. Item si mandatum minimum solvis.
 Item si offerens munus prius⁵ reconciliaris fratri tuo.⁶ Item
 si adversario consentis.⁷ Item si non respondes nisi est

1. om. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

3. habens: A,B.

4. si es satur om. q,cc; si dives satur only: A,B.

5. non add. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

6. om. A,B.

7. this sentence om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

a. Jac. 2,10.

et non, non per circumlocutiones. Item si irasceris reus eris. Item si das¹ omni petenti et mutuas. Item si non repetis ablata. Item si alteri facis quod tibi vis. Item si diligis inimicos et benefacis² et pro³ odientibus oras. Item si misericors et perfectus es ut deus. Item si nescit sinistra quid faciat dextra. Item si caput ungis cum ieiunas. Item si vendis que possides et cetera. Item si non es sollicitus quid manduces vel quo⁴ induaris. Item si non⁵ cogitas de crastino. Item si non iudicas⁶. Item si dimittis. Item si in via nichil portas nec pecuniam nec peram nec duas tunicas nec calceamenta. Item si quod in aure audis predicas super tecta.⁸ Item si non times occidi. Item si diligis deum ex toto corde⁹ et proximum et cetera. Item si verbum otiosum non dicis. Item si patrem¹⁰

-
1. dicas: m,s,bb,dd.
 2. eis add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y.
 3. et pro om. A,B.
 4. om. A,B.
 5. om. A,B.
 6. iudicamus: A; iudicamur: B.
 7. panem: A,B.
 8. this sentence om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 9. tuo add. c,f,i,j,t,x.
 10. et matrem add. m,s,w,bb,dd.

et uxorem¹ et filios² relinquis. Item si renuncias omnibus que possides³. Item si abnegas te ipsum. Item si odis⁴ patrem et matrem tuam. Item si relinquis domum et uxorem⁵. Item si crucem cottidie baiolas. Item si castras⁶ te⁷ propter regnum celorum. Item si es ut parvulus. Item si septuagies dimittis. Item si tantum [invitas]⁸ cecos et pauperes. Item si semper oras. Item si semper vigilas. Item si vulneratum⁹ ungis. Item si pedes lavas alter¹⁰ alterius. Item si credens in Christum maiora opera facis. Item si omnia que petis impetras. Item si sine sacculo et pera nichil tibi deest.¹¹ Item si vendis tunicam et emis gladium. Item si animam¹² ponis pro amicis. Item si semper doces ubi omnes palam conveniunt, non in occulto. Item si vacas in sabbato et in festo ut mulieres¹³

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1. matrem: c,i,j,r,x,aa,ee.
 2. et filios om. k,l.
 3. this sentence om. c,i,j,r,t,aa,ee.
 4. honoras: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 5. et uxorem om. e,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 6. castigas: g,m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 7. vel castigas add. k,l.
 8. si compellis intrare: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b (si colligis tantum), d (space left after si and invites inserted in a different hand), h (si laudas), u (si visitas); this sentence om. q,y,cc; si tantum cecos et pauperes invites: A,B.
 9. in add. m,s,u,w,bb.
 10. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 11. this sentence om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 12. tuam add. m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.
 13. compleas: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y (altered from meliores), cc.

secundum mandatum. Item si predicas in mundo omni creatura docendo gentes. Item si baptizas. Item si signa facis¹ demones eiciens² et cetera. Item si pariter estis et habetis omnia communia. Item si vendens possessiones et substantias dividis omnibus prout cuique opus est. Item si non proprium habes³. Item si per impositionem manus das⁴ spiritum sanctum visibiliter. Item si cottidie doces in templo. Item si singulis panem per domos frangis. Item de morte Ananie et Saphire⁵. Item si gaudeant de contumelia. Item quere quare non obediant deo ut apostoli publice predicando quia si est ex deo non potest dissolvi doctrina eorum⁶. Item si sint⁷ promptiores ad dandum quam ad accipiendum. Iacobi⁸^a item si plures magistros non habes. Item si indutum vesta preclara non prefers induto veste sordida. Item si cum infirmaris recipis unctionem advocans presbiteros. Petri^b item si paratus es omni poscenti reddere rationem fidei⁹.

1. signa facis om. f,m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd.

2. eiecis: c,f,i,m,p,r,s,t,u,w,x,aa,bb,dd,ee.

3. this sentence om. m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

4. tradas: m,s,u,w,bb,dd.

5. this sentence om. f,m,q,s,u,w,bb,dd.

6. this sentence om. A,B.

7. om. A,B.

8. om. c,f,g,h,i,j,k,u,w,aa,ee.

9. de fide. Quare non obediant deo ut apostoli publice predicando quia si est ex deo non potest dissolvi doctrina eorum: A,B. The shortened version (m,p,s,u,w,bb,dd) ends at this point.

a. Jac. 13, 1. b. I Petr. 4, 5.

Nota¹ quod² orientalis ecclesia ut greci in hiis discordant a nobis.³ Primo⁴ in persona spiritus sancti⁵ dicunt enim spiritum sanctum⁶ minorem esse patre et filio et negant eum⁷ procedere a patre et filio⁸ sed⁹ tantum mitti. Item¹⁰ in Romane ecclesie obediencia.¹¹ Item in statutis ecclesie ut in decretalibus et synodis et cetera. Item in sacramentis ecclesie. Eucharistiam conficiunt de panibus fermentatis ex quibus excidunt rotulas et ex hiis conficiunt corpus domini et panes illi vocantur panis benedictus et datur omnibus qui volunt sumere in cibum, et in calice¹² ligneo vino miscent aquam serventem¹³ in signum spiritus sancti, et sic corpus domini et sanguinem sumunt¹⁴ de calice cum cocleari

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1. these headings add. at beginning of this section: Quorundam notabile de Grecis: c; De ritibus ecclesie orientalium (in margin) d; In qua Greci discordant ab Ecclesia: e; Concordancia et discrepancia (discrepantie, g) Grecorum a Christianis: g,ff; Notabile: h; Qualiter Greci concordant cum Christianis: j,r,t,ee; De erroribus Grecorum: k,l; Discordancia et discrepancia: n; Nota in quibus Greci discordant a Romana ecclesia: y; Nota: aa; De concordia fidei: B.
 2. Nota quod om. A,B. (Item, B.).
 3. a nobis om. A,B.
 4. om. A,B.
 5. quem add. A,B.
 6. enim...sanctum om. A,B.
 7. om. A,B.
 8. et negant...filio om. i,j,aa.
 9. negant...sed om. f,ee.
 10. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,g,h,i,q,y,cc.
 11. inobedientia: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,f,y,cc.
 12. sollempnitate dabatur laycis ut Ambrosius infra vii dies ad omnes ordines est promotus. Item apostoli conficiebant in lingua hebreia add. A,B (the Ps-R. reading appears here to be preferable).
 13. fermentem: cc; ferventem: t,ee.
 14. bibunt: f,ee.

ad hoc deputato; In confirmatione et extrema unctione discordant. Item in penitentia cuicumque bono sacerdote confitentur. Item in ordine; sacerdotes enim ducunt uxores quibus mortuis sunt ad perpetuam continentiam obligati.¹ Item in matrimonio, in gradibus consanguinitatis et affinitatis, et tempore interdicti et publice honestatis iusticie.² Item in ornatu ecclesie, vestium, et pulsatione³ campanarum. In hiis autem concordant nobiscum. Primo in veneratione⁴ et invocatione sanctorum et fere in omnibus aliis in veteri testamento et novo.⁵ Armeniorum ecclesie et Ethiopum et Indorum et ceteri quos apostoli converterunt non subsunt Romane ecclesie; habent enim ritus per se speciales.⁶ In primitiva ecclesia ordo sacerdotalis sine ordinibus precedentibus et sine solempnitate dabatur laycis. Ut⁷ Ambrosius⁸ infra vii dies ad omnes ordines est promotus.⁹ Item apostoli conficiebant¹⁰ in lingua hebrea.

1. deputati: f, ee.
2. contrahunt: all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y, cc.*
3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y, cc.
4. instead of In hiis...veneratione: Item concordant nobiscum in veneracione: A, B.
5. D e Armenis et Et hiopibus et In dis: in margin: d.
6. ritus speciales habentes. Item A, B.
7. Unde: all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y (unde ut), cc.
8. amborum: b, d, h, q (amborum ambarum), cc (ambarum).
9. vii dies...promotus om. A, B. (See above p. 141, n. 12).
10. corpus domini add. all Ps-R. mss. except a, b, d, h, q, y, cc.

* The meaning of this phrase is obscure but it has been retained as in accordance with the readings of the best mss. (see above, pp. ix-x). The change from iusticie to contrahunt in the other mss. is possibly due to a scribal attempt to make the passage more comprehensible.

De compilatione novi spiritus xxxvi¹

Conventicula facere² et in secreto³ docere contra fidem non est sed contra modum ewangelicam ubi dicitur: "Ego semper palam⁴ in templo⁵ ubi omnes Iudei conveniunt et in abscondito locutus sum nichil; Mathei x: Quod in aure auditis predicate⁶ in tectis.⁷ Dicere quod xx⁸ pater noster prevaleant misse sacerdotis contra dignitatem est sacramenti cui sicut dicit Augustinus⁹ Dignitate¹⁰ in bonis nichil prefertur, et Gregorius dicit: Nichil deo acceptius esse quam filium offerre. Dicere quod homo faciat mortalis peccati actum sine peccato presumptio Manichei¹¹ est qui hoc ait¹² ut dicit Eustachius episcopus. Dicere quod anima sit sumpta de substantia dei Manicheorum heresis est ut dicit Augustinus. Manicheus enim dixit deum lucis immortalia

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1. heading as in a,b,d,y (xxxv: b; xxxvi om. y); other headings: Conventicula hereticorum: c; De prohibitione conventiculorum occultorum: e; Que sint contra fidem catholicam: g,ff; Sequitur aliud: h; Sequitur: i; Errores diversorum hereticorum: j,ee; De erroribus Pelagii, Manichei et quorundam aliorum: k,l; Quis [sic] sit fides Kathari: n; Errores diversorum hereticorum contra fidem catholicam: r,t; Compilacio de novo spiritu hec continet C errores minus tribus: B; no heading: f,q,x,aa,cc,A.
 2. habere: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,y (om. h,q,cc).
 3. habere vel add. f,ee.
 4. docui add. A,B,E.
 5. et add. A,B,E; in templo om. E.
 6. predicabitur: A,B,E.
 7. in tectis om. A,B; id est palam add. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 8. xxiiii^{or}: E.
 9. in bonitate nichil prefertur vel add. cc; dicit Augustinus in iiiii: A; dicit in iiiii: B.
 10. dicit Augustinus in iiiii^{to} de Trinitate: E.
 11. Machmeti: a,b,d,h,q,y,cc,A,B.
 12. qui hoc ait om. E.

fecisse de se ipso. Hec tamen heresis ante Manicheos quorundam fuit philosophorum. Dicere suffragia non debere fieri pro animabus determinatarum personarum sed illis quibus deus cupit contra approbationem ecclesie est et canones sanctorum. Beatus¹ enim Gregorius pro monacho proprietario se² penitente pro morte³ determinate⁴ xxx missas celebrandas instituit⁵ et sic eundem liberavit. Dicere confessionem venialium non esse necessariam verum est, sed non est dicendum quia licet non sit necessaria tamen perutilis est, cum de talibus⁶ dicatur quod bonarum mentium est ibi culpam agnoscere⁷ ubi culpa non est;⁸ veniale enim culpa non est sed dispositio ad culpam.⁹ Dicere quod aliquis veniat ad hoc quod deo non indigeat blasphemia est

1. sanctus: n,aa,ff.

2. sed: E; om. B.

3. post mortem: A,B,E.

4. om. E.

5. statuit: A,B,E.

6. de talibus: om. E.

7. timere: k,l.

8. ubi culpa non est om. g,n,ff (ubi...ad culpam om. c).

9. Veniale...culpam om. B,E.

in deum quo omnis creatura indiget quia aliter in nichilum decideret, ut dicit Gregorius propter quod dicitur Hebrée i: "Portans omnia verbo virtutis sue,^a et Actuum xvii: "In ipso¹ vivimus et sumus.^b Dicere quod mulier sancta² sit deus heresis est et blasphemia et est de heresi Pelagii.³ Pelagius enim dixit: Non invideo⁴ filio dei quia et ego quando volo possum esse filius dei et deus⁵, et hec dicit Augustinus de Pelagio. Idem est quod dicitur quod homo possit fieri deus. Ad idem reducitur quod dicitur quod homo ad talem statum possit pervenire quod deus omnia in ipso operetur. Aliquid enim operis datur nature et aliquid concupiscentie sine qua nemo est unde i Iohannis ii: "Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus nos ipsos seducimus et veritas in nobis non est;"^c

1. Christo: A,B.

2. facta: A,B,E.

3. sicut et antecedens add. A,B,E.

4. Non vivo deo (de c,f,g,i,j,x,ee) all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,n,y (vivi, q).

5. et deus om. c,f,ee.

a. Hebr. I, 3.

b. Act. 17, 28.

c. I. Joh. 1, 2.

Romanos vii: " Non enim quod volo illud facio sed quod nolo
 illud ago.¹ Quod autem deus operetur peccatum blasphemia
 est. Ad idem etiam redit quod dicitur quod homo tantum
 proficiat quod sacerdote non indigeat; solius enim filii
 dei est clavibus non indigere que sacerdotali officio
 commisse sunt, et hanc similitudinem Pelagius ad similitudinem
 divinam³ comparare presumpsit.⁴ Ad idem etiam redit dicere non
 debere queri consilium a viris litteratis sive de devotione
 sive de aliis. De eadem presumptione Pelagii est qui suum
 sensum consilio scripture preposuit. Dicere quod aliquis
 ad hoc possit devenire⁵ quod non possit peccare⁶ de
 presumptione Pelagii est. Dicere aliquem ad hoc devenire⁷ quod
 non oporteat eum sanctos revereri presumptio⁸ Pelagii est.

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1. instead of sed...ago: vel ago: f,x,ee.
 2. om. a; Pelagius ad similitudinem om. i,j.
 3. om. b,d,h,q,y,co.
 4. et hanc similitudinem dei presumpsit: A,B; et hanc
 similitudinem Pelagius ad similitudinem dei presumpsit: E.
 5. aliquis pervenit ad hoc: A,B,E.
 6. similiter add. A,B,E.
 7. posse add. A,B.
 8. om. A,B; heresis: E.

2. Rom. 7, 19.

Item quod anima alicuius etiam facientis eadem cum Christo equetur anime Christi heresis Pelagii est, cum gratia Christi sit unionis ad esse quo vere dicetur: hic homo¹ deus, gratie autem aliorum sunt gratie adoptionis ut scilicet adoptentur non ut sint deus.² Dicere quod homo unitus deo peccare non possit tollere est liberum arbitrium ab homine quod dicit Augustinus esse³ heresim.⁴ Dicere⁵ quod anima deo unita deificetur heresis⁶ Pelagii est qui putabat se in deum transformari. Dicere quod homo unitus deo sit venerandus ut corpus Christi blasphemia est et Pelagii heresis. Gratia enim unionis prefertur⁷ gratiis adoptionis. Unio enim divinitatis est ad corpus immediate sicut et ad animam. Ad idem redit quod aliquis dicat

1. hic est homo: A,B; hic homo est: E.
2. these two sentences are transposed: a,b,d,y.
3. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,d,h,q,cc.
4. Tertullii add. E.
5. om. A,B,E.
6. eciam: A,B,E.
7. omnibus add. E.

se deum in deum recipere quando recipit sacramentum altaris. Non enim ipse est deus per gratiam adoptionis sicut adoptatus vere non est filius. Ad idem est quod aliquis preferatur et deo equetur. Hoc Pelagius¹ dixit.² Dicere quod homo in devotione possit precellere beatam virginem Pelagii heresis est, eo quod beata virgo sola excepta sit quod nunquam motum peccati senserit qui devotionem suam impedire potuerit. Quod dicitur ne secreta verba aliis publicentur suspectum est, Iohannis v: "Qui bene agit venit ad lucem ut manifestentur opera eius quoniam in deo sunt facta,"^a et ibidem: "Qui male agit odit lucem,"^b Ieronimus: Omnis religio sit tibi suspecta qui precepta et regulas manifestare non audent.³ Quod dicitur quod homo

1. Pelagius enim hoc: A,B,E.

2. Ad idem...dixit om. c,x.

3. pointing hand in margin at this point: aa.

a. Joh. 3, 21.

b. Joh. 3, 20.

secundum voluntatem fiat deus de heresi Pelagii est
 expresse, et¹ hoc Lucifer concupivit et eiectus est. Dicere
 quod homo unitus deo non habet² sanctos revereri de errore
 Pelagii est Iob v: ⁴Ad aliquem sanctorum convertere. ^{„a}Dicere
 quod homo unitus deo non debet confiteri etiam peccatum
 mortale de errore Manichei est.³ Dicere quod homo unitus
 deo licite possit tollere rem alterius⁴ mendacium est in
 doctrina veritatis; talis enim plus peccat aliena tollendo
 quam non unitus in quantum maioris gratie contemptor est,
 propter quod dicit Augustinus quod quanto altior est gradus
 tanto profundior est casus.⁵ Dicere quod homo⁶ unitus deo⁷.
 non debet ieiunare vel orare Pelagii error est cum Elyas
 Moses et Christus maxime deo uniti ieiunaverunt et

1. plus add. A,B,E.

2. debeat: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

3. this sentence om. c,n,x.

4. alienam: E.

5. these two sentences are transposed: g,i,ff.

6. om. E.

7. om. A,B.

a. Job 5, 1.

oraverunt. Quod dicitur quod nec angelus sit nec demon de antiqua heresi est Esseorum quam Christus in ewangelio et Nycena synodus condempnavit. Qui dicit divinitatem separata esse a corpore Christi de heresi est Nestorii et Euticis et Pauli cuiusdam Samothei¹, qui de antiqua heresi Arii propagati sunt, qui Christum non² surrexisse dicunt³. Dicunt quod homine comedente deus comedat blasphemia est et heresis Pelagiana. Dicere quod orationes, ieiunia, confessiones peccatorum impediunt bonum hominem mendacium est in doctrina veritatis, quia inter omnia mendacia⁴ perniciosissimum est, cum ieiunio occidantur pestes corporis et oratione pestes⁵ mentis et confessio remedium sit contra utrumque, et de errore Manichei est⁶ et de errore⁷ Donati⁸ qui

1. Symochei: E. The reference is to Paul of Samosata, heretical bishop of Antioch in the third century.
2. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,d,n,y (surrexisse non dicunt, b,cc).
3. negant: aa; Qui Christum non surrexisse [dicit] Manicheus est hereticus: A,B; Qui Christum non surrexisse dicit Manicheus est: E.
4. peccata: f,i,j,ee.
5. corporis...pestes om. g,n,x,ff (corporis om. f).
6. et de...est om. E.
7. de errore om. c,f,i,j,q,r,t,x,aa,cc,ee.
8. et de errore Donati om. a,b,d,y; est add. E.

in Nycena synodo condemnatus est, ut dicit Augustinus de baptismo parvulorum. Dicere quod sanguis boni hominis venerandus est ut sanguis Christi heresis Pelagii est. Dicere quod licite comedantur tempore ieiunii prohibita ab ecclesia sicut caseus et ova heresis Pelagii est et est contra claves ecclesie. A clavibus enim ecclesie procedit quod ieiunia ecclesie¹ venerabiliter² tenenda sunt. Dicere quod soluta concumbendo cum soluto non plus peccet quam admittendo matrimonialiter sibi³ coniunctum⁴ heresis est Ioviniani cuius heresis a Manicheis est propagata ut dicit Ieronimus in libro contra Iovinianum. Dicere quod puerum ex licito concubitu pariens⁵ sine macula sit est predicare concupiscentiam maculam non esse et est heresis cuiusdam Iuliani qui fuit discipulus Pelagii, ut dicit Augustinus

-
1. om. all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
 2. om. a,b,d,y.
 3. om. A,B,E.
 4. om. E.
 5. genitum: E.

in libro contra Iulianum Pelagianum. Dicere quod homo
 equetur patri et transcendat filium de Pelagii heresi
 est et est dyabolicum.¹ Lucifer enim dixit: " Similis
 ero altissimo.² Dicere Christum non doluisse in passione est
 dicere quod Christus non fuerit homo nisi² secundum³ phantasma,
 et hoc est heresis Nestorii et Euticis. Dicere quod angeli
 non sint lapsi de celo contra veritatem ewangelii est Luce
 xi: " Videbam Sathanam, et cetera;⁴ ii Petri ii: " Deus angelis
 peccantibus non pepercit.⁵ Dicere angelos non⁵ esse nisi
 virtutes, et demones non esse nisi vitia, heresis est Esseorum.
 Dicere quod hoc quod sub cingulo fit⁶ a bonis non sit peccatum⁷
 heresis est Elyotiste⁸ qui fuit discipulus Iuliani et⁹ Pelagiani.
 Dicere bonum hominem¹⁰ peccare confitendo¹¹ sacerdoti contra
 veritatem ewangelicam est. Misit¹² enim leprosos ut ostenderent

1. filium non tantum heresis (heresi, B) Pelagii est sed
 eciam dyabolicum: A,B; filium non tantum de heresi
 Pelagii est sed eciam dyabolicum est: E.
2. om. b.
3. om. all Ps-R.mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.
4. sicut fulgur de celo cadentem: A,B,E.
5. om. A,B.
6. sit: E.
7. quod hoc...peccatum: obliterated: c.
8. Leoniste: c,f,i,j,t,x,aa,ee.
9. om. E.
10. om. A,B.
11. dicere peccato non debet confiteri: E.
12. dicit enim misit: A,B; dominus enim misit: E.

a. Is. 14, 14.

b. Luc. 10, 18.

c. II Petr. 2, 4.

se sacerdotibus. Est autem de errore Manichei. Dicere non oportere inclinare corpori Christi eo quod homo sit deus Pelagianum est.¹ Dicere quod quidquid faciant² homines ex dei ordinatione faciant³ heresis est⁴ qui⁵ dicunt omnia evenire⁶ ex necessitate et nichil ex permissione divina, et est error cuiusdam Alexandri. Dicere non esse memorandum passionem Christi⁷ impiissimum est et hereticum cum nichil ita sit memorandum; Trenorum iii: "Recordare paupertatis et transgressionis⁸ absinthii et fellis."² Est autem error Manichei et Nestoris qui dicunt Christum non fuisse vere passum et ideo non esse curanda⁹ que de passione eius dicuntur. Quod de morte patris et matris non sit dolendum nec pro animabus eorum orandum inhumanum est et continet errorem Manichei qui

1. Pelagii heresis est: E.

2. hoc quod faciunt: E.

3. faciunt: A,B,E.

4. eorum add. B,E.

5. quia: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,h,q,y,cc.

6. pervenire: A,B,E.

7. domini et add. A,B; domini nostri Ihesu Christi et add. E.

8. instead of et transgressionis: mee: A,B,E.

9. codex f ends abruptly at this point.

a. Tren. 3, 19.

dixit suffragia animabus non prodesse. Dicere bono homini non esse peccatum periurare¹ et mentiri² Pelagii vesania³ est qui dicit hominem impeccabilem, sed tali plus peccatum est quam aliis.⁴ Dicere hominem debere abstinere ab exterioribus⁵ et sequi responsa spiritus intra se heresis est cuiusdam Ortlevi⁶ qui fuit⁷ de Argentina quem Innocentius tertius condempnavit. Dicere oscula virorum et mulierum solutorum non esse peccatum est mentiri in doctrina veritatis; Ephesios v: "Neque scurrilitas⁸ que ad rem non pertinet^a (ibi glossa que est in osculis et amplexibus). Dicere quod dyabolus non afficit animam dulcedini mentiri est in doctrina veritatis. Augustinus enim dicit quod immiscent se saporibus et sanguini ut dulcedine afficiantur.⁹ Dicere quod communicans quando ad hominem¹⁰ vadit deum ad deum portat Pelagii heresis est. Dicere quod mater¹¹ v puerorum virgo possit esse heresis est Ioviniani.¹² Explicit tractatus de erroribus hereticorum.¹³

-
1. peiorari: A,B.
 2. cum illi plus peccatum sit quam alii add. A,B,E.
 3. insania: A,B,E.
 4. sed...aliis om. A,B,E.
 5. ab exterioribus quiescere et abstinere: c,x.
 6. Ortlibi: E; om. B.
 7. Ortlevi qui fuit om. cc.
 8. aut turpitudine add. E (que...pertinet om.).
 9. afficiantur: all Ps-R. mss. except a,b,d,e,y.
 10. ab homine: B; quod ab homine: A.
 11. om. A,B.
 12. Omnes igitur predicti heretici quocumque nomine censeantur eorumque fautores receptatores (om. k,l) defensores et ipsorum (eorum, k,l) erroribus et falsissimis opinionibus credentes deleantur de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribantur add. e,g,k,l,n,t (in another hand), ff.
 13. As codex d. For other explicit see above pp. xi-xx.

APPENDICES

Appendix AThe inquisition at Krems, 1315

In 1315 an inquisition into heresy was held at Krems of which several accounts have been preserved. The fullest of these, which is transcribed below, occurs in ms. 188 of the Dominican convent in Vienna. Shorter versions of this account have previously been published by W. Wattenbach (in the Annales Matseenses, M.G.H., Scriptores, IX, pp. 825-27,¹ with a parallel text from ms. Voraü 73) and by G.E. Friess (from ms. Klosterneuburg 933, as an appendix to "Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters", Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie, XI (Vienna, 1872) pp. 254-57). Friess's transcript contains several omissions and errors.² In transcript 1 I have collated ms. Vienna, Dominikanerkonvent 188 with both the Annales Matseenses (referred to as M) and ms. Klosterneuburg 933 (referred to as K).

1. This is probably the source of the account by Abbot Trithemius of the heretics discovered at Krems in 1315 (Chronicon Insigne Monasterii Hirsaugiensis... (Basle, 1559) pp. 274-75).
2. The most important being the misreading of 1266 for 1316 pointed out by Preger in his article "Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des 14. Jahrhunderts", Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XVIII, Abt. 1 (Munich, 1889) p. 30.

Another account of the inquisition at Krems, included in ms. Sankt Florian XI, 328, was published by Hieronymus Pez in his Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum, II (Leipzig, 1723) cols. 533-36. As his transcript contains several misreadings of the text¹ I have thought it worthwhile to prepare a new one (transcript ii).

Ms. Sankt Florian XI, 328 contains also a list of places "in quibus heretici habuerunt episcopatus et scholas suas" (published by Pez, loc. cit). This follows straight on from the account of the inquisition at Krems but does not form part of it. It includes most of the places referred to in connection with the inquisition of 1266 (see above pp. l-lvi). I have transcribed the list below (transcript iii) so that it may be compared with the lists given in the Anonymous of Passau and Pseudo-Reinerius treatises and in the account of the Krems inquisition.

1. The most important being the mis-reading of the number of heretics burnt in Vienna; Pez gives this as 102, whereas the ms. records only two.

- i) Transcript of the account of the inquisition at Krems,
given in ms. Vienna, Dominikanerkonvent 188.

fo. 58ra/ Inquisicio hereticorum¹

Anno domini M^occc^oxv^o subscripti articuli in Chremensis²
civitate Pataviensis³ dyocesis sunt inventi [per]⁴ fratres
predicatores, dominumque Ortolfum eiusdem civitatis decanum,
et plebanum Pataviensis⁵ ecclesie canonicum⁶ et archydiaconum,⁷
quibus ab eodem choro de hereticorum inquisitione facta est⁸
commissio, reprobati ac rationabiliter confutati.⁹ Primo
comparabant¹⁰ missas Lucifero credentes¹¹ eum adhuc cum
Michahele et angelis bonis¹² universisque fidelibus auxilio
suorum satellitum debere conflagere ac laudabiliter triumphare
et quod tunc eterne sit restituendus glorie; Michahel vero

1. Inquisicio hereticorum facta Chremse per dominum
Ortolfum Muerringarium decanum loci eiusdem: K;
no heading: M.
2. Cremensum: K; Chremsa: M.
3. ecclesie add. K.
4. ac per: K,M.
5. Pataviensisque: K.
6. canonicos [sic] : cod.
7. instead of et plebanum...archydiaconum: et per reverendum
magistrum Gundakchrum tunc plebanum et canonicum
Pataviensensem qui postmodum factus decanus est Pataviensis
et archidiaconus: M.
8. om. K,M.
9. sunt add. K.
10. comparant: K.
11. credunt: K.
12. beatis: K.

a. The ms., which dates probably from the first half
of the 15th century, is described in an unpublished
catalogue by Felix Czeike, Verzeichnis der Handschriften
des Dominikanerkonvents in Wien bis zum Ende
des 16. Jahrhunderts.

cum suis¹ fidelibus² eterno deputetur³ incendio puniendus.⁴
 Item dicebant se habere xii apostolos qui annis singulis
 universa mundi climata perlustrarent. E quibus annis
 singulis duo paradisum intrarent⁵ auctoritatem obligandi atque
 solvendi ab Helya et Enoch accepturi et ea accepta continuo
 reversuri quam tunc suis communicarent sequacibus prout
 ipsis esset⁶ divinitus constitutum. Item integritatem
 virginis derogabant dicentes eam fuisse angelum et incorruptam
 aut mulierem et penitus violatam et ut⁷ non esset que se a
 calore tante iniquitatis absconderet. Tale huic articulo
 vulgare et rithmicum⁸ commendebant.⁹

Eva het einen¹⁰ man

Der¹¹ waz¹² gehaizzen¹³ Adam

Seit¹⁴ der zeit an man

Nie dhain¹⁵ fraw¹⁶ chain chindel¹⁷ gewan

Noch nimmer¹⁸ getüt¹⁹

Also stet unser gelaub und unser müt.²⁰

-
1. angelis et add. M.
 2. cum sanctis angelis
 ceterisque fidelibus: K.
 3. deputentur: K.
 4. puniendi: K.
 5. introirent: K, M.
 6. om. M.
 7. om. K.
 8. testimonium add. K, M.
 9. dicentes add. K.
 10. ein: M.

11. dez: K.
 12. was: M.
 13. gehaisse: K.
 14. seid: K.
 15. dehain: K.
 16. vrowe: K; vraw: M.
 17. chint: M.
 18. mer add. K.
 19. getuet: M.
 20. muet: M.

Item Romanam Ecclesiam eiusque statuta non esse meritoriam ipsamque non esse fidelium sed ecclesiam gentium¹ affirmabant. Item non credebant cymiteria vel ecclesias consecracione² aliquali deprecari³ et sic per contrarium non posse⁴ turpitudine aliqua⁵ viciari⁶. Item negabant sacramentum baptismi⁷ dicentes si baptismus sacramentum est a deo ergo balneum quodlibet sacramentum est et per consequens balneator quilibet esset deus. Item negabant sacramentum eukaristie ipsum appellantes sic communiter in wlgari daz ist der gemacht⁸ got⁹. Item negabant sacramentum matrimonii ipsum matrimonium sic wlgariter appellantes ein geswornes¹⁰ huer. Item negabant sacerdotes ecclesie aliqua preditos auctoritate¹¹ sed eos sic in wlgari¹² et potius

1. esse add. M.
2. om. K.
3. deputari: K.
4. om. K.
5. om. M.
6. depravari: K; violari: M.
7. instead of baptismi: aliqui baptismus viciant: M.
8. gemachet: K.
9. daz...got om. M.
10. gesworne: K; geswarneu: M.
11. nec aliquas predictas auctoritates habere: K.
12. instead of in wlgari et: vulgariter: K.

blasphemabant seculares et religiosos quoscunque prelatos
 unanimiter vocitantes Vercherer guter lawt¹; predicatorum
 vero² et minores Chirichphaffen³ universaliter appellabant.⁴ ^a
 Item contra verbum psalmiste: "Nolite tangere christos meos
 ipsi christos sive sanctos domini blasphemabant dicentes
 clericos religiosos peregrinos et quoscunque⁵ secundum
 Romane Ecclesie statuta cultui divino deditos non esse
 Christi ministros⁶ sed ventris quia ad hoc se⁷ cultum et
 habitum⁸ a ceteris segregarent⁹ ut possint voluptati corporis
 et appetitu libidinis commodius deservire.¹⁰ Item sacramentum
 confessionis detestabiliter viciabant nam omnes
 confitebantur laicis¹¹ asserentes quod quilibet quemlibet
 omni loco omni¹² tempore absolvere potest¹³ a pena penitus et. a

-
1. leut: K; Vercherer...lawt om. M.
 2. om. K, M.
 3. kirchenphaffen: K; chirichphaffen: M.
 4. appellantes: K.
 5. instead of peregrinos...quoscunque: monachos moniales
 et beguinas et quoscunque fideles: K.
 6. ministros Christi: K.
 7. om. K.
 8. cultu et habitu: K.
 9. segregarentur: K.
 10. Item contra verbum...deservire om. M.
 11. nam ipsi omnibus laicis confitebantur: K.
 12. et: K, M.
 13. possit: K, M.

a. Ps. 104, 15.

culpa. Item sacramentum penitencie inventi sunt maliciose
 nimium infecisse. Nam eorum Episcopus que magister
 Herwordus¹ dictus est sicut falsam auctoritatis speciem
 protulit sic et² ipsis inventus est infixisse³ penitenciam
 execrabilem in ~~hec verba~~⁴ Chüzz an di hürd dar auf scholt
gelautert werden⁵. Item sacramentum sacre⁶ unccionis penitus
 annihilabant vlgariter quando fuerunt si hoc sacramentum
 crederent requisiti unanimiter responderunt⁷ Wir⁸ glauben
ist daz chrawt⁹ wol geölt¹⁰ so¹¹ ist ez¹² dez¹³ pezzet¹⁴. Item
 suos uterinos gemellos pueros sibi mutuo copulabant sicut
 inventum est ~~quod~~¹⁵ quia eodem Anno¹⁶ M^occc^oxv^o¹⁷ Ulricus¹⁸
 Lanator¹⁹ civis Cremensis eorum filius²⁰ maior in die cene domini
 suos pueros ex patre et matre germanos matrimonialiter copulavit

1. H: K; hereticorum: M.

2. in add. K.

3. inflixisse: K, M.

4. ~~hec verba~~: K, M. hoc vero: cod.

5. Chusse an diu hürd dar auf
scholtu geleuterd werden:
K; Cheusch auf der erden
daran scholt du geleutert
werden: M.

6. sancte: K.

7. respondentes: K, M.

8. Wier: M.

9. chraut: K, M.

10. geolet: M.

11. om. K.

12. iz est: K.

13. dester: M.

14. erpezzet: K.

15. ~~om.~~ K, M. quod add.: cod.

16. scilicet add. K.

17. anno M^occc^oxv^o om. M.

18. om. K.

19. Wollarius: K, M.

20. filia [sic] : cod.

ac domum invitatis suis cohereticis omnibus totam illam
 noctem insomnem vacans ebrietati et luxurie duxit¹ in
 contumeliam crucifixi seque ac suos in die parasceves
 replevit² carnibus excessive.³ Item iuramentum non⁴ esse
 dicunt et ideo non ferentur⁵ frequentibus periurare dicunt
 enim⁶ sic: Wer⁷ einen ayd swert dez ist alz vil sūnt alz
der in einen halten oven plast.⁸ Item quidquid in locis
 subterraneis fieret deum nec⁹ scire nec punire aliquammodo
 affirmabant quod conpertum est quod¹⁰ cum¹¹ quedam ex eis nomine
 Geisla¹² cremaretur iudici querenti si virgo esset fertur
 taliter respondisse: Super terram virgo sum¹³ sub terra vero
 non. Item nostros presbiteros Romaniolos suos vero
 Israhelitos appellabant. Item sic se heretice¹⁴ salutabant¹⁵

-
1. om. M.
 2. replevit; cod.; repleverit: M.
 3. om. K.
 4. nichil: M.
 5. verentur: K, M.
 6. om. K; etenim: M.
 7. Swer [sic] : cod.
 8. Der ainen ait swert daz ist als vil sind sam der der in
 einen halten oven platzet: K; Wer ain ait swert daz
 ist als vil sund als der in ein halten oven plest: M.
 9. non: M.
 10. quia: K, M.
 11. dum: K, M.
 12. Gisla: M.
 13. om. K, M.
 14. om. K.
 15. salutantes: K; Item...salutabant om. M.

Grüzz¹ dich der verstozen² ist; et respondit³ salutatus⁴
 Lon dir der⁵ dem gewalt geschehen⁶ ist. Item cum alter ad
 alterum venire voluit⁷ ne christianis presentibus inopinate
 intrarent appropinquans ianue dixit: Ist icht chrumpps
holtz da inne?⁹ Si ~~tunc~~¹⁰ in illo loco christiani fuerunt
 heretici responderunt: Stozzt ewch an di wont nicht;¹¹ si
 autem soli ibi fuerunt heretici dicebant:¹² Ging herin
gesegter gotes,¹³ sicut¹⁴ habetur ~~Labani~~¹⁵ "Ingredere benedicte."¹⁵
 Item ut statuta¹⁶ penitus confutarent quanto¹⁷ dies¹⁸ celebrior
 fuerit¹⁹ tanto viliora vel²⁰ notabiliora opera exercebant. Sic
 eodem prenotato anno conpertum est quod eorum maior filius in
 die parasceve²¹ panem pistavit in²² inverecundiam resurgentis.²³
 Quia autem in Vienna crematus est nomine²⁴ Newmaister²⁵ fassus est

1. Gruez: K, M.
2. verstozen: M.
3. respondet: M.
4. om. K.
5. om. K; dem: M.
6. geschehen: M.
7. velint: K.
8. chrumpes: K; chrunpez: M.
9. dar inne: M; drinne? M.
10. ~~sicut~~: ~~Ed.~~; om. M.
11. Stozet euch an dew want nicht: K; Stozzet euch an die want nicht: M.
12. instead of dicebant: .. tunc si responderunt: K; om. M.

13. Ginch herhin du gesegter gotes: K; Ging in her du gesegter : gotes: M.
14. ut: K.
15. instead of Labani... benedicte: in Genesi: K; domini add. M.
16. nostra add. K.
17. quando: K.
18. fuit add. K, M.
19. om. K, M.
20. et: K.
21. pasce: K, M.
22. om. K.
23. et multa alia add. K.
24. der add. K, M.
25. Neumaister: M.

se quinquaginta annis eorum fuisse Episcopum et magistrum
et quod in Austria et eorum finibus¹ sunt² plusquam
hereticorum³ octaginta milia, sed in Bohemia et Moravia numerus
infinite. Ex ore quoque⁴ unius in⁵ Ypolitensi civitate⁶
cremati intitlati⁷ sunt a Draschirchen⁸ usque ad sanctum
Ypolitum⁹ xxxvi loca famosa in quibus¹⁰ heretici commorantur.¹¹
Accingimini igitur fratres universi¹² presencium inspectores
orthodoxe fidei zelatores gladio¹³ spiritus qui est verba dei
et estote filii potentes quia tot malis ingerentibus
melius est nobis mori carnis voluptatibus ac tectum¹⁴ in
favilla et cinere huius ignominiosi status dissolutionem
petere¹⁵ quam videre mala gentis nostre filiorum scilicet
sancte matris ecclesie Romane et sanctorum quorum ut

-
1. eius confiniis: K,M.
 2. sint: K,M.
 3. om. M.
 4. om. K.
 5. om. K,M.
 6. Ipolitensis cives: K.
 7. intitulata: M.
 8. Dreschirchen: K; Dreschirichen: M. Traiskirchen, Lower Austria.
 9. Sankt Pölten, Lower Austria.
 10. instead of in quibus: ubi.
 11. Codex M ends at this point.
 12. fratres...presencium om. K.
 13. delatores gladii: K.
 14. domum: K.
 15. experire: K.

premissum est statuta iugiter blasphemantur, et quia¹ nil
 habemus residui² nisi ut oculos³ dirigamus ad dominum,⁴
 levemus corda cum manibus suppliciter⁵ exorantes quatenus ~~[?]~~
 ipse qui dixit et facta sunt mandavit et creata sunt
 verbum virtutis multe donec ewangelizantibus viam
 veritatis demonstret errantibus et que^{6a} pravitate sunt
 heretica colligati^{6b} dissipare dignetur⁷ sua Sampsonis
 wlpeculas potestate quia ut eorum testimonium conprobatur
 sic sunt excessive nimium ~~dilatati~~^{et 8} roborati quod breviter
 contra universalem⁹ Ecclesiam prevalebunt nisi divinitus
 extingwatur. Ait enim sic quidam ex eis¹⁰ officialis de
 Grevenslag¹¹ qui et crematus est: Quid modo fiat nescio unum scio
 quod si quiete nostra fides per quindecennium [?] in suo robore

-
1. quod: K.
 2. om. K.
 3. nostros add. K.
 4. et add. K.
 5. om. K.
 - 6^a qui: K.
 - 6^b colligati: cod.
 7. heretica sunt colligati dignetur dissipare: K.
 8. ~~dilatati et:~~ K. delicati: cod.
 9. instead of contra universalem: videlicet: K.
 10. eius: K.
 11. Ermenslag [sic]: K. Grafenschlag, Lower Austria.

perstetisset nostre fidei efficaciam cogitaveramus
 publice predicare eamque constitueramus manu valida
 defensare; ut autem estimavi valeat. ~~Quamdiu~~ turpitudine
 talis secte duraverit, quo robore viguerit, ~~notandum~~¹ quod
 Anno domini Mccclxvi² Inquisicione³ hereticorum facta
 subscripte Ecclesie invente sunt pravitate heretica viciate.
 In quibus et⁴ singulis⁵ in aliquibus vero⁶ plures scole
 reperte sunt nefandissime pravitatis:

Chemnate⁷ et ibi decem scole
 In Chamer⁸
 In Puksching⁹
 In Nerden
 In Anaso
 In Grozzenchirchen¹⁰
 Ad Sanctam Mariam
 In Guzchirchen¹¹
 In Swons¹²
 In Welsa
 In Weizzenchirchen¹³
 In Newnhofen¹⁴ circa Ybsam¹⁵ et ibi scole leprosororum
 In Syrnich¹⁶

-
1. est add. K.
 2. Mccclxvi: cod.
 3. inquisicio: K.
 4. etiam: K.
 5. singule add. K.
 6. om. K.
 7. Primo in Chemnaten: K.
 8. Prikschinge: K.
 9. Anaso: K.
 10. Griezchirchen: K.
 11. Gunczchirchen: K.
 12. Swans: rK.
 13. Weizsenchirchen: K.
 14. Neunhofen: K.
 15. Ipsam: K.
 16. Sirnich: K.

In Ansveld
 Ad Sanctam Florianum
 In Styria¹
 In Hedershoven²
 Ad Sanctum Valentinum
 In Sunnelburch³
 In Hag
 In Weytra⁴
 In Wolfspach
 In Aspach⁵
 In Augia ad Sanctum Petrum
 In Seiczensteten⁶
 In Ardacher
 In Neustat⁷
 In Winchlarem⁸
 In Amsteten
 Ad Sanctum Georium
 In Ybsa⁹
 In Pehenchirchen¹⁰
 In Enzespach¹¹ et ibi¹² scole et Episcopus
 Ad Sanctum Oswaldum
 In Drozendorf
 In Leub¹³
 In Straczing¹⁴
 In Lengveld¹⁵
 Ad Sanctum Christoferum
 In Nochling
 In Pübing¹⁶

-
1. Austria: K.
 2. Herdeshoven: K.
 3. Sunnelburg: K.
 4. Weitra: K.
 5. om. K.
 6. Sichsteten: K.
 7. Nerwentstat: K.
 8. Winchlatin: K.
 9. Ibsa: K.
 10. Behaimchircehn: K.
 11. Enczemspach: K.
 12. sunt add. K.
 13. Leubs: K.
 14. Stretzing: K.
 15. Lengenveld: K.
 16. Huebing: K. For the identification of the places listed here see above pp. lv-lviii.

Hec autem hereticorum inquisicio non fuit ad effectum producta licet¹ heretici in Chemnaten suum plebanum et illi in Nöchling suum plebanum² eiusque socium et scolarem in sui ulcione sceleris occidissent sed sic sunt³ obmissa quod nec de hiis omnibus⁴ nullum fuit iudicium ex prelatorum desidia nimium⁵ detestabili postulatum.⁶ Nullus vero predictos legens articulos quorum quosdam wlgariter scripsi ignavie imputet quia hoc ad ipsum feci, videlicet in eorum wlgari⁷ heretici affectus concordia conservetur que⁸ in⁹ diversa translacione et exposicione poterat¹⁰ multimode¹¹ transmutari.¹² Quod autem fratres minores inquisicione presentis interfuissent¹³ non scripsi. Ratio est quia solum prime assessionis ipsius inquisicionis intererant sed ex tunc valide excusabant

1. instead of producta licet: sed: K.
2. et illi...plebanum om. K.
3. ~~fuit~~: K. sunt: cod.
4. omnibus hiis occisionibus: K.
5. nimirum: K.
6. postulant: K.
7. prolacione add. K.
8. qui: K.
9. om. K.
10. poterant: K.
11. in ultimo: K.
12. Codex K ends at this point.
13. interfuisse: cod.

seque absentabant sicut assessorum et inquisitorum testimonio conprobantur. Notandum tamen quod licet heretici nostra sacramenta anichilent habent et ipsi decem sacramenta inutilia penitus et prophana sicut diversarum summarum testimonia conprobarent. Hic autem sunt decem scilicet ordinis, confessionis, panis benedictio, manus impositio. Ordo eorum quadrigradus est. Prius enim et summus eorum est Episcopus. Post hunc filius maior. Post hunc filius minor, post quem dyaconus. Ceteri vero dicuntur christiani et christiane. Item confessio eorum est omnimode viciosa et ratione forme et ratione confessoris. Forma est generalis non enim specificat hereticus quid commisit; ratione confessoris quia laycus est. Panis benedictio talis est. Cum enim ad mensam venerint unus qui prior est confessione tenet panem coram omnibus dicens pater noster. Ipsis autem presentibus dicit: Gracia domini nostri Ihesu Christi sit cum omnibus nobis et respondetur ab omnibus amen et tunc distribuit discumbentibus. Nemo tamen credit panem qualitercumque benedictum effici corpus Christi. Manus impositio talis est cum aliquis ad eorum professionem accipitur qui prior est professione Librum Ewangeliorum profitentis imponit singulis ibi existentibus eadem manus imponentibus dicentibus pater noster et tunc ipsum autumant spiritus sancti gracia illustrari. Hec rescripta omnia frater Phylippus de Pechlorn [Pöchlarn, Lower Austria] ordinis predicatorum domus Cremensis fideliter annotavit. Anno ut supra in festo beatorum Achacii et soci [22 June]. Nota

preterea quod officialis de Grevenslag fassus est quod ab infancia pueros suos in heresi nutriverit eos taliter informantes: Cum videris clericum quemcunque queras oportunitatem et occulte contra eum spuas eique ex affectu corde et animo maledicas religiosi vero et predicatoribus et minoribus ac ceteris quibuscunque te servilem et beneviolum exhybeas eorumque monita sive precepta et quelibet consimilia parvipendas.

Explicit Inquisicio hereticorum.

ii) Transcript of the account of the inquisition at Krems given in ms. Sankt Florian XI, 328.²

fo. 148va/ Hic incipit tractatus

Anno domini m ccc xii inventi sunt articuli subnotati in Kremsa inter hereticos ibidem deprehensos ac condemnatos per decanum et priorem quibus tunc commissio facta fuit generalis ab ecclesia Pataviensi. Et notandum quod in eadem predicta civitate xvi persone sunt cremate propter heresim et ad Sanctum Yppolitum xi, in Vienna due; accusatores¹ et qui evaserunt infinitus erat numerus. Primus casus est quod comparabant missas Lucifero credentes et dicentes quod ipse ad huc cum Michaelle conflagere et de eo triumphare, et quod tunc Lucifer angelique sui apostate cum credentibus, hoc est cum hereticis, eterna gaudia possideatur. Secundus casus est sanctus autem Michael cum suis angelis in beatudine iam existentibus suisque credentibus eterno deputetur incendio puniendus. Item dicunt se habere xvi apostolos annis singulis universata climata mundi perlustrantes ex quibus duo annuatim paradysum introeant auctoritatem ligandi et solvendi ab Helia et Enoch recipiant quam suis possint communicare credentibus. Item integritatem virginis Marie nequissime derogabant dicentes impossibile esse virginem permansisse et hoc quendam rithmum viciosum dicebant in wlgari:

1. sic: possibly a copyist's error for accusati.

2. The ms, which forms part of the original library of the Augustinian house of St. Florian, Upper Austria, is dated 1476. It is described in Albin Gerny, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian* (Linz, 1871), pp. 132-33.

Eva het einen man

Der was gehayssen Adam

Seytt der zeyt an man

Nye kain fraw kann kindt gewan

Noch nymmer gethuet

Also stett unser gelawben und unser muet.

148vb/ Item omnes sunt confessi asserentes quod quilibet quemlibet omni loco possit absolvere a pena penitus et a culpa. Item sacramentum baptismi negabant dicentes quod si walneum waptismale esset sacramentum ergo quodlibet walneum esset sacramentum et per consequens quilibet walneator esset deus. Item sacramentum penitencie viciabant suis confessis penitenciam nephariam imponentes quod patuit quia eorum magister nomine Hermannus sibi confitentibus hanc penitenciam inflixit: Kuss auff de huer den der auff du gelawttert scholt werden. Item sacramentum matrimonii anichilabant ipsum wlgariter appellantes: Ein geswerangre huer. Item sacramentum corporis Christi blasphemabant ei vulgare nomen imponentes: Das ist der gemacht got. Item sacramentum extreme unctionis maliciose derogabant quando fuerunt requisiti utrum hoc sacramentum esse crederent respondebant: Ja wir gelawben wol ist das krawt wol geölt so ist es dester pesser. Item non credebant benedictionem palmarum, salis et aque, carniū et quorumcumque consimilium. Item non credebant cimiteriorum consecracionem aliqua

deputari et per consequens non posse aliqua pravitate viciari. Item ecclesias appellabant ein stainhaws nec eas credebant dedicacione vel consecracione qualibet pre aliis domibus emundari. Item suos doctores israheliticos nostros vero romaniales appellabant. Item contra mandatum ewangelicum: "In prophetis meis nolite malignari,^a seculares clericos et quoscumque et quoruncumque ordinum possessiones habencium prelatos sive doctores Verkerer güter lewtt appellabant; predicatorum vero et minores Kirchphaffen vocabant. Item dicebant monachos sive quoscumque religiosos universosque ministros ecclesie non dei sed ventris sui famulos quia ad hoc se divino cultui mancipabant ut vacantes ocio liberius possint voluptati corporis deservire et hoc idem de monialibus et viduis sive quibuscumque continentibus cavillabant. Item in eodem Udalricus Woller in Kremsa in die cene universos huius heresis utriusque sexus quos habere potuit invitavit suosque gemellos pueros in matrimonio copulavit ac deinde eandem quintam feriam noctem in sompno, diemque parasceve in luxuria et voluptate ac dissolutione replecioneque ventris in esu carnum per excessum in contumeliam crucifixi. Statutis Romane ecclesie contradicunt quod compertum est in eodem quia Udalricus supradictus in festo pasce panem [pistavit] in contumeliam resurgentis. Idem Udalricus Woller utpote desperatus et ab ecclesia precisus postquam in die cene se suosque voracione carnum replevisset ad ecclesiam

simulacionem venit et recepit humiliter /149rb/ ibi corpus Christi. Item ut sectam execrabilem verbo et opere confirmarent sic se mutuo salutabant heretice dicentes: Gruess dich der verstossen ist; dixit respondens: Lon dir der verstossen ist. Item ut diucius possent latere sueque pravitatis germula seminare ecclesias licet false apparerent tamen cum differencia frequentabant et cum intrarent dum usque exirent hec verba pro oracionibus replicabant dicentes: Es ist gelogen was man singet; es ist gelogen was man saget; es ist gelogen was man suechet. Item sermones humiliter frequentabant non tamen ob aliud ut pravitatem caperent in sermone. In domibus suis de sermonibus sic mutuo loquebantur: Eya, wie schun der gelogen hat. Item dicebant quod quidquid fierit sub terra nec deus aspiceret nec eciam puniretur. Item periurium virorum nullum existimabant fore peccatum dicentes: Es ist eins mannes ayd als gross sunde als der in einen kalten prun bläst. Hoc inventum est quia dum quedam mulier Gysla nomine in Kremsa tunc temporis a iudice posita super cratem fuisset requisita si virgo esset dixit: Super terram virgo sum sub terra vero non. Item quando congregati fuerunt pro suis malificiis exercendis¹ qui ad eos ingredi cupiebant ne inopinate inmiscerentur hominibus nostre fidei ianue appropinquentes dicebant: Ist icht krumbs holcz hinne? Si tunc ibi fuerunt veri christiani sic respondebant: Stozset euch an de panck nicht.

1. excedens: cod.

Item quidem crematus fuit in Hinsperig [Himberg, Lower Austria] nomine Newmaister cum iam esset in igne positus ait quod in Austria eiusque confiniis sunt lxxx milia hominum infecti heretica pravitate. Item quidam Andreas nomine tunc temporis crematus dixit: Ab infancia parentes nostri in heresi nos nutrierunt frequenter talia precibus et minis[?] nos inducentes 'Bone puer utere matris consiliis; hec enim tibi temporalia ministrabunt et eterna gaudia generabunt. Cum videris clericum capta loci oportunitate et occulte super eum spuas et ipsi utpote subsidarii ^{1.} ~~[e]i~~ bonorum hominum maladicis sed in omnibus contrarius existas et universis iussionibus suis contradicas. Religiosis vero ad modum te familiarem exhibeas, predicatorum et minores hospicio recipias eosque si manifeste nequiveris, occulte impediās eisque in omni loco verbis et factis detrahas et resistas.' Item dictus Newmaister cum iam in crata esset positus in Hinperig verba fidei sue professus est dicens: Noveritis quod non est religiosus cuiuscumque status professionis vel clericus cuius merita mihi hodie pro hiis que in episcopatu 1 annorum mee fidei merui vellem aliququaliter exoptare. Item quidam fuit crematus ad Sanctum Yppolitum dixit publice: Fateor hodie si fides nostra ad huc per xv annos in suo robore perstetisse cogitaveramus eam publice predicare ac manu valida defensare. Item non credunt /l49vb/ se quorumlibet sanctorum sicut Iohannis Petri et Pauli et consimilium

1. subsidarii : cod.

patrocinio aliquo posse adiuvari. Item cantus misse
psalmodie et consimilium detestantur penitus et anichilabant.
Item suos confessores licet laycos preferunt doctoribus
universis eorumque ordinationibus conservant utpote
divinitus constitutos. Item raro est apud eos homo
cuiuscumque sexus qui textum novi testamenti non sciat
recitare cordetenus in wlgari et cetera.

iii) List of places in Upper and Lower Austria infected by heresy [1266] given in ms. Sankt Florian XI, 328 (see above, pp. lv-lviii for the identification of these places).

fo. 150vb/ Hic nota nomina civitatum ecclesiarum villarum in quibus heretici habuerunt episcopatus et scholas suas et cetera.

Item in Lengenfeld et ibi scola
 Item Strezing et ibi scole
 Item in Lewbs
 Item in Drosendorff
 Item ad Sanctum Oswaldum
 Item in [?]atzaspach et ibi scole et episcopus
 Item ad sanctum Cristofferum
 Item in Pehaymkirchen / 151ra/
 Item in Ipsa
 Item ad sanctum Georgium
 Item in Ardacher
 Item in Seythensteten
 Item ad sanctum Petrum in Augea et ibi scole
 Item in Aspach
 Item in Wolfpach
 Item in Weystrach
 Item in Hag
 Item in Sündelburg
 Item ad sanctum Valentinum
 Item in Hedershoven
 Item in Stira et ibi scole
 Item ad sanctum Florianum
 Item in Agswald
 Item in Syernnich et ibi scole
 Item in Weysenkirchen
 Item in Kemmaten et ibi decem scole et plebanus
 occisus est ab eis
 Item in Newnhofen et ibi scole leprosorum

Item in Belsa

Item in Swans

Item in Nerden

Item ad sanctam Mariam

Item in Puppigne

Item in Grieskirchen

Item in Anaso et ibi scole

Item in Puechkirchen

Item in Atergey scilicet in Kamer et ibi scole et
cetera.

Appendix BUnpublished sections of the Anonymous of Passau treatise

These sections of the Anonymous of Passau treatise, which have not been published previously, are discussed above (pp. lxxv-vii). The transcripts given here have been prepared from ms. Clm. 311 (B) with the collation of mss. Erfurt Amplon. Quarto 149 (A) and Clm. 2714 (C).

a) De Machometo et de Sarracenorum lege¹

Machomet utroque parente orbatus ydolatriis fuit cum tota gente Arabum. Unde testatur in alcorano suo deum sibi dixisse: Orphanus fuisti et suscepi te, pauper et locupletavi te. Postea factus est mercenarius et dominam quandam nobilem et divitem cui servivit accepit in uxorem et propter hoc aspiravit ad regnum Arabum sed quia non prevaluit quia notus erat quis et qualis fuisset confinxit se prophetam propter urbanitatem eloquencie quam apprehenderat apud diversas nationes inter quas negociator fuit. Inter Arabes vero tunc erant Iacobite heretici qui circumcisionem predicant, Christum esse deum negant sed tantum hominem credunt et de spiritu sancto conceptum, de virgine natum non tamen crucifixum nec mortuum. Fuit eo tempore in

1. De secta Machometi et Sarracenorum: C.

regione Anthiochie archidiaconus quidam Machometi amicus et
 hic Iacobita propter quod in concilio publice fuit dampnatus
 propter quod confusus fugit et ad Machometum pervenit,
 similiter alii duo Iudei heretici ad Machometum se iunxerunt.
 Qui iii legem Machometi quisque secundum¹ suam heresim
 confixerunt et ex deo venisse assuerunt, quod multi Iudei
 heretici et Christiani heretici susceperunt, et multi timore
 gladii consenserunt, nec alia miracula de eo vere comperta²
 sunt licet quidam id mentiti³ unde in alcorano suo dicit: De
 omnibus, inquit, prophetis multi multa mentiti sunt; quod ne de
 me contingat, illud solum de me verum teneatur quid alcorani
 fultu auctoritate probatur; et infra: Dominus dixit ad me
 'Ideo te miracula facere non permitto quia ne tibi sicut aliis
 prophetis in miraculis contradicatur timeo. Prophetam
 autem faciunt probitas vite, miraculorum exhibicio, dictorum
 omnium veritas firma'. Machomet autem totus erat luxuriosus
 in tantum ut in eo quadragies supra humanum modum habundaret
 et de hoc deum sibi congratulari dicit. Multa bella et dicit
 se domino precipiente inmis^{si}se in quibus dentes sui contriti
 sunt nec eventus preliorum suorum scivit.
 Quinquies in die orandum esse dixit quia cum Iudei ter in
 die, christiani vero septies, orant, medium inter hoc duo
 tenuit. Cum orandum est precepit omnia membra corporis

1. om. A, B.

2. comparata: A.

3. sunt add. C.

lavari quia sic faciebant cultores stelle veneris quia ad modum femine illi se aptabant ora et oculos tingentes et quia in puncto stelle veneris rex effectus est ideo hoc fieri precepit. Tempore oracionis¹ alta voce unum deum confitentur et Machomet fidelem eius esse prophetam. Semel in anno ad ecclesiam Machometi convenire iubentur et ibi orare quam dixit esse domum Ade post exilium et fluxionis. Nam duo filii Noth, Amon et Moab, hanc domum honorabant et duo ydola ibidem ab illis² colebantur; alterum ex albo, alterum ex nigro lapide parant³, nigrum in honore Saturni, album in honore Martis. Arabes vero tunc Moab et Amon adorabant quod demutare nequirent. Machomet permisit suos cultores ibi nudos adorare et lapides inter crura iactare retro ad lapidandum dyabolum ne ydolatrie⁴ videretur consentire. Diebus aliquod in anno ieiunant sed noctibus omnia comedunt. Bellis^{5a} ~~scie~~ multos credere coegit et tamen in alcorano suo dicit deum loquentem quod violencia non debet esse in lege^{5b} non altercari cum aliis gentibus nisi mollibus verbis⁶ et liber alcorani talis est quod posterior primum destruit et hoc quia socii

1. om. A, B.

2. ille: B.

3. paratum: C.

4. ydolo: A.

5^a re add. C.

6. om. A.

sui post mortem suam scripserunt quod voluerunt. Quattuor uxores¹ docuit et qualibet repudiata aliam ducere. A vino semper abstinere iussit ne socii inebriati secreta eorum detegerent. In iudicialibus concordant cum lege Moysi in multis. Servatoribus huius legis permisit deus paradysum id est ortus deliciarum in quo umbra arborum protegentur nec calore nec frigore affliguntur sericis induentur omnibus ciborum deliciis fruuntur pulcherrimis virginibus iungentur in vasis aureis et argenteis epulabuntur. Ministros habebunt angelos. Quisquis autem peccatis obnoxius erit in die iudicii interveniente Machometo salvus erit. Machometus eciam dixit post mortem suam corpus suum deferendum esse in celis quod postquam factum non² est et fetere cepit populus decessit corpore inhumato. Successor autem regni eius unus

1. habere add. C.

2. om. A.

de x sociis eius callide excusans mendacium ait Machometum non dixisse quod ante sepulturam transferendus esset et sic delusum populum tenuit in errore. Machometus eciam dixit Christum non fuisse crucifixum nec mortuum sed quia ita visum est populis.

b) De concordia fidei¹

Licet fides ecclesie impugnatur a Iudeis hereticis et paganis et falsis christianis in lxx² tamen articulis fidei et consuetudinibus³ hii omnes concordant nobiscum, in quibadam discordant.

In hiis concordant omnes⁴:

In creatum immensum eternum omnipotentem creatorem visibilium omnium et invisibilium⁵ et gubernatorem⁶, preter Manicheos qui duo principia credunt⁷ in iure et lege nature que est credere unum⁸ deum esse et ipsum diligere et timere adorare et invocare et esse remuneratorem bonorum et malorum punitorem, et virtutes et bonos mores amare, cardinales et ceteras, item vii mortalia, et cetera⁹ crimina detestari et beatudinem appetere et miserias fugere omnes concordant.

Item angelos et demones et animas esse et immortales et sanctos esse et aliam vitam eternam et in penis inferni pro

1. heading om. A.

2. quibusdam: C.

3. et consuetudinibus om. C.

4. In...omnes om. A.

5. et invisibilium om. A.

6. generatorem: A.

7. In hiis concordant...credunt om. C.

8. om. C.

9. instead of et bonos...et cetera: amare: C.

criminibus puniri et peccata per penitenciam deleri omnes concordant. Item erga proximi viri et femine coniunctio, liberorum successio, puerorum educacio, deposite rei et comodate et pecunie restitucio, federa pacis et virtutem servare,¹ vis per vim repulsio, x preceptorum observancie, unum deum colere parentes honorare, non occides, non mechaberis, non furtum facis,² non falsum testimonium dicis, non concupiscere rem nec uxorem proximi tui, et opera misericordie facere, Luce: ^{[sic] "} Que vultis ut faciat vobis hoc facite, et Thobie: ^{"2} Que tibi odis fieri hoc alii non facias.^{"b} Item in sacramento ordinis in doctoribus et in doctrina et in obediencia. Item quilibet horum habent leges proprias et statuta. Item quilibet habent mysticum sensum in suis scripturis. Item castitate sacerdotum tempore misterii ipsorum. Item in sacramento penitencie

1. et virtutem servare om. C.

2. om. A,B.

a. Matth. 7, 12.

b. Tob. 4, 16.

etiam puerorum ut in ieiunio elemosina et oracione. Item in sacramento coniugii. Item in impedimentis matrimonii scilicet in dispari cultu et impedimento consanguinitatis et affinitatis et impedimento violacionis et impedimento coeundi.

In hiis discordant omnes a nobis:¹

In fide et statutis ecclesie.² In sacramento confirmacionis et crismate et extrema unccione, et in confessione que fit in spem, et in interrogacionibus, et in circumstanciis;³ in decretalibus et decretis;⁴ in exposicionibus sanctorum; in festis luminum et benediccione cinerum, et in processionibus festivis; in officio misse,⁶ et in clericali tonsura et vita

1. In hiis...nobis om. A.

2. instead of Item in sacramento ordinis...statuta ecclesie: In hiis omnes concordant. Item in sacramentis quibusdam ut in penitencia, coniugio, et ordine, in ieiunio elemosina, et oracione omnes concordant. Item unum deum esse et hec omnipotentem et summe bonum et omnia scientem et creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium discordat hereticus principia duo ponens. Item in hiis omnes discordant a nobis. In fide trinitatis et in statutis ecclesie: C.

3. In confessione...circumstanciis om. C.

4. et in iure decretalium et decreti: C.

5. palmarum et add. C.

6. et in vii horis diei add. C.

claustrali sine proprio vivere. De antichristo venturo;¹
 in signo crucis et ligno; in indulgenciis, et in limbo.²
 Iudeus et Sarraceni concordant?³
 In penis purgatorii et in deliciis paradysi.⁴ In cultu

1. in limbo inferni et add. C.
2. beatitudine celi discordant add. C.
3. Iudeus...concordant om. A; Iudeus et Sarracenus: C.
4. from here to the end of the passage C reads as follows:
 In purgatorio discordat hereticus. Item in Christo
 divinitate discordat Iudeus et Sarracenus. In sacramento
 corporis domini omnes discordant preter Leonista. In
 partu virginis hereticus et Sarracenus concordant. In
 Christo baptismo, similiter in confessione, hereticus
 concordat, et testamentum non recipit hereticus. Item
 in cultu divino ut in festum hereticus discordat. Item
 in ieiunio et in ecclesia materiali, in altari, et ornatu,
 et lumine, et thurificatione, dedicacione, et cantu,
 peregrinacione, et in iuramento, et in iudicio seculari
 et spirituali, in excommunicacione et interdicto, et
 suspensione, et oblacionibus, et decimis, et possessionibus,
 et sepultura exequiis, et anniversario, et suffragiis
 mortuorum hereticus discordat. Iudicio futuro
 resurrectionem hereticus et Sarracenus discordant. In
 miraculis hereticus et Sarracenus discordant. In
 sanctorum invocacione hereticus et Iudeus discordat.

divino ut in festis diebus et in templo materiali in altari et ornatu vestium et oblacione et lumine et thurificatione et in festo luminum et in dedicacione in cantu, in peregrinacione et in iuramento. Item in iudicio seculari et spirituali ut excommunicacione. Item in decimis dandis possessionibus habendis. Item in exequiis et sepultura. Item in resurrectione corporum et iudicio futuro. In suffragiis mortuorum. Item in miraculis. Item in veneracione locorum sacrorum et corporum sanctorum. Item in religiosa vita; in horis canonicis; in statu prelacionis et subiectionis; in orando pro defunctis.

Iudeus et hereticus concordant¹

In confessione in genere et publice; in una uxore habenda; in castitate doctorum et sacerdotum et voto virginitatis et viduitatis.

1. Iudeus...concordant om. A.

Sarraceni et heretici et Iudeus concordant¹

In veteri testamento et in omnibus moralibus preceptis et prohibitionibus legis et prophetarum que sunt plus quam centum, et in ieiunio ^{or}iiii temporum et xl. Item in festis pasche et pentecoste et dedicacionibus et palmarum et sabbato pro dominica. Item in ordine levitico et sacerdotali et pontificali. Item in mittendo partes et in vitando menstruatam et in puerperio.

Hereticus²

In novo testamento; in fide trinitatis; in partu virginis; in Christi divinitate; item in impositione manus dari spiritum sanctum et dimitti peccata. Item in sacramentis baptismi et altaris penitencie et coniugii et ordinis episcopatus. Item in voluntaria paupertate.

1. Sarraceni...concordant om. A.

2. om. A.

Sarracenus:¹

In doctrina philosophorum et in iure civili et in omnibus
libris iuris qui sunt plusquam cc^{ti} et liberalium artium.
Item in veneracione et invocacione. Item in ymaginibus et
picturis. Item in cibis non discernendum. Item in
computo kalendarii. Item usuram. Item orientalis ecclesia...
(from here to end of this section as Pseudo-Reinerius
text above, pp.141-142).

1. om. A.

c) De ydolis

Inter ydola gencium quedam ymagine¹ erant tantum ad memoriam aliquorum in quibus nichil esse credebant² esse habitacula deorum.³ Alii quibusdam credebant virtutem infusam quia sub certis horis fundebantur vel fabricantur. Prima causa ydolorum est dolor de amico amisso; Sapiencie vii: "Acerbo luctu,"^a et cetera. Secunda causa vesania principum qui se colificerunt, ut Nabuch qui solus voluit dici deus; Danielis ii: et principes adorari fecerunt ymagine⁴ suas qui erant remotiores; Sapiencie xiii.^c Tercia, adulacio ut minores habent⁵ gratiam maiorum; Sapiencie iiii, amor rei publice ut libencius periculis se exponerent⁶ deificabant homines. v^{ta} occasio operis⁷ vel alterius creature; Sapiencie. vi, potencia quam

1. virgines [sic] : C.

2. credebam: B.

3. nichil esse credebant numinis alii credebant esse habitacula deorum: C.

4. virgines [sic] : C.

5. haberent: C.

6. exponeretur: C.

7. space left after operis: C.

a. Sap. 14, 15.

b. Dan. 3, 1-7.

c. Sap. 14, 17.

credebant esse¹ in hiis quos deos putabant sanare homines cum cessabant ledere. Item credebant² eos³ prenoscere futura quia predicebant quedam que facturi⁴ erant. Item quia videbantur facere quedam que erant super naturam ut in plagis Egypti. Prima species ydolatrii est cultus demonum. Secunda, luminum ut solis et lune. iii, elementorum. iiii, hominum. v, animalium. vi, ymaginum⁵ vii, temporis vel partium eius: est eciam ydolatria aliarum rerum.

1. om. C.

2. credebat: A,C.

3. om. C.

4. factum: C.

5. virginum [sic]: C.

d) De divinacionibus¹

Divinacionum multe sunt species.² Prima fit in igne que dicitur pyromancia. Secunda fit in aere, aremancia. Tercia in aqua, ydromancia. Quarta in terra, gemancia. v^a fit per phitones in quibus malignus spiritus loquitur. vi, per mortuos suscitatos, nigromancia. vii, augurium in cantu et volatu avium. viii attenditur circa sturnutacionem. ix, circa sompnia. x, circa sortes quas falso dicunt apostolorum. xi, circa³ vanam inspexcionem⁴ psalterii et aliarum scripturarum. xii, mathematicorum qui constellationes considerant⁵ et eciam dicuntur magi. xiii est eorum qui dicuntur⁶ arioli qui in aris ydolorum demonorum responsa accipiunt. xiiii est eorum qui vocantur aruspices quasi

1. heading om. A.2. om. A.

3. contra: C.

4. inspiracionem: B.

5. om. A.

6. dicunt: B.

horarum speculatores qui dies et horas in operibus
 agendis custodiunt. xv, incantaciones. xvi, prophete qui
 dicuntur warsagen quod sit in radicibus¹ vel in manu vel
 in spatula agni. xvii, malefici qui quid diligendum est
 odibile faciunt.² xviii, qui fidem adhibent occursui³ hominum
 vel animalium quod dicitur anganc⁴ et p~~p~~eritui membrorum.
 xix, coniuraciones. xx, benedicciones false quod dicitur
ansprechen. xxi, unholden qui terras peragrant. xxii,
 remedia falsa quod dicitur luppen. xxiii⁵, alfaltes [sic]⁶
 quod dicitur truten⁷. xxiiii, karacteres falsi.
 xxv, alligature. xxvi, ymaginee ceree. xxvii, quid de fetu
 qui sepelitur cum matre⁸ fiat alp qui illudit feminis.
 xxviii, qui per benedictionem ferri candentis vel aque

1. radicionibus: A,B.

2. et e converso add. C.

3. cervici: C.

4. anganch: C.

5. quod dicitur add. A,C.

6. alfalies: A,C, (the meaning is obscure; ms. Graz 876
 gives alphatrices. A possible emendation is: quod dicitur

7. truiten: B; triten: C.

alf alias quod dicitur
truten).

8. om. A,B.

ferventis reos inveniunt. xxix, qui¹ per tactum occisi
 invenient homicidam. xxx, qui² per animas defunctorum
 suscitantur statum animarum et qui demones consulunt.
 xxxi, qui feminas credunt silvestres esse et homines³ in
 lupos converti. Alii credunt quod quelibet domus numen
 habeat quod⁴ plus vel minus honoranti⁵ det vel subtrahat
 salutem. Qui ornant mensas perhte.⁶ Qui credunt permutari
 infantes et eos ledi⁷ a pilwiz. Qui credunt quod satiri
 equitent porcos. Alii remediis utuntur nugatoriis ut
 asseres tangere ut tempestas pellatur. Alii noxiis per
 quas impeditur conceptus. Alii contumeliosis que ad
 amorem accendunt quod fit per chrisma. Qui maleficiis
 impediunt potenciam coeundi. Qui sterilitatem perpetuam
 vel temporalem procurant. Qui morientes obligant ut post
 mortem redeant. Qui dantes opiatam in potu soporem duorum
 dierum inducunt et sic spoliant eos rebus.⁸

1. om. C.

2. om. C.

3. et in aquis et vanos et homines: C.

4. ~~quod:~~ A.

5. se add. C.

6. perhte: B.

7. om. A,B.

8. Qui maleficiis...eos rebus om. C.